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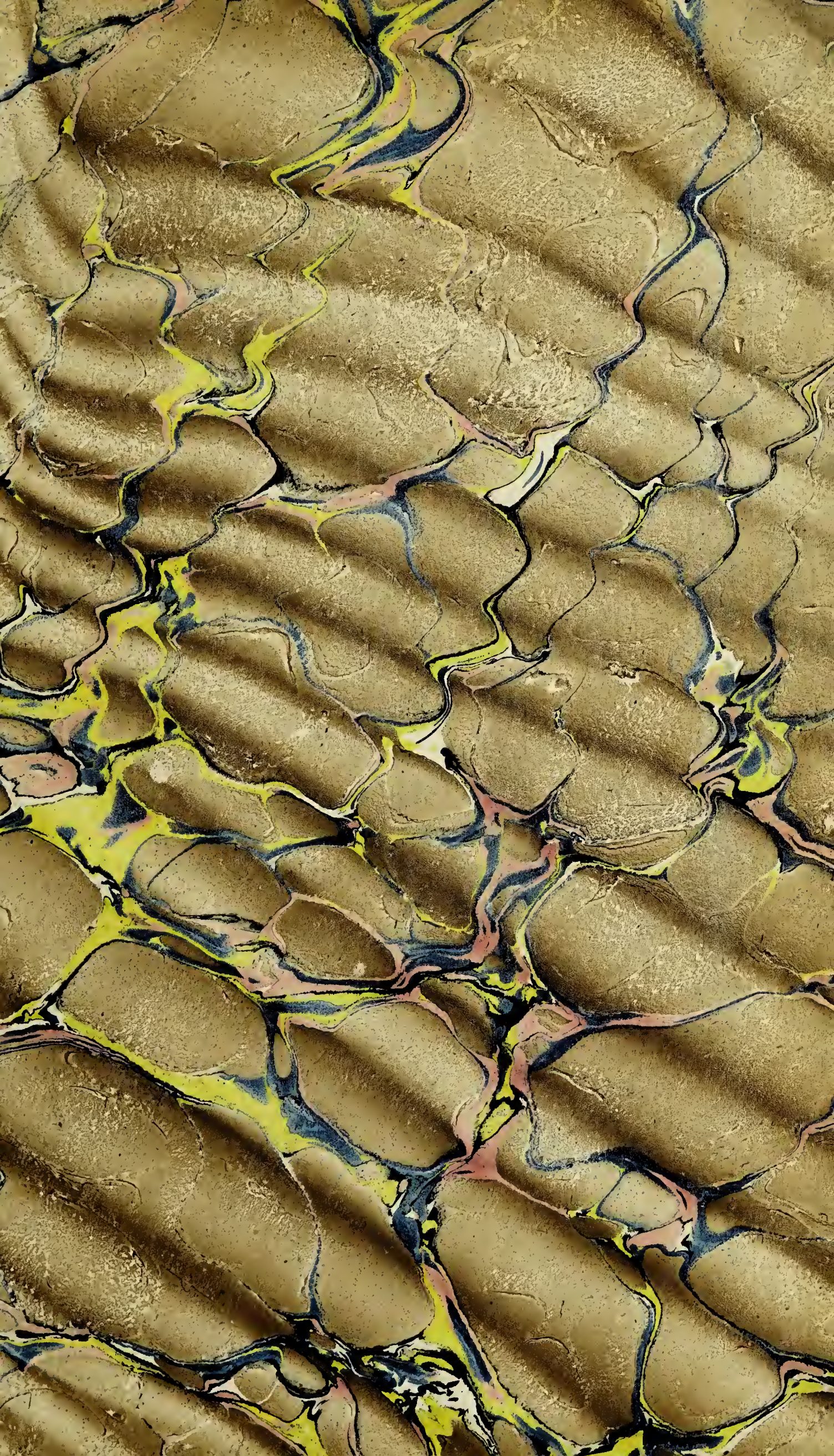
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Compendium of the history of
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VOLUME VI.

HAGENBACH'S HISTORY OF DOCTRINES.

VOL. II.

EDINBURGH :

T. & T. CLARK, 38. GEORGE STREET ;

LONDON : SEELEY & CO. ; WARD & CO. ; JACKSON & WALFORD, &C.
DUBLIN : JOHN ROBERTSON.—NEW YORK : WILEY & PUTNAM, BOSTON :
CROCKER & BREWSTER.—PHILADELPHIA : J. W. MOORE.

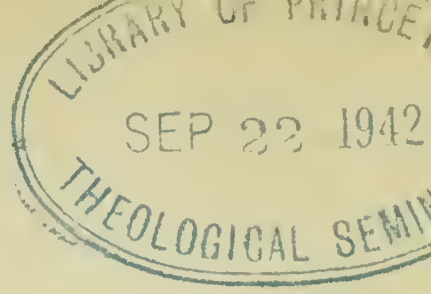
MDCCCXLVII.

COMPENDIUM

HISTORY OF

AMERICA

AND THE HISTORY OF THE
INDIAN NATIONS
AS FAR AS IS KNOWN
FROM AUTHENTIC RECORDS
AND TRAVELERS' ACCOUNTS
BY
JOHN BARTRAM



COMPENDIUM

OF THE

HISTORY OF DOCTRINES.

BY

✓
K. R. HAGENBACH,

DR AND PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BASLE.

VOLUME II.

TRANSLATED

BY

CARL W. BUCH.

EDINBURGH :

T. & T. CLARK, 38. GEORGE STREET.

LONDON : HAMILTON, ADAMS, & CO., SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, & CO.,
SEELEY & CO.; WARD & CO.; JACKSON & WALFORD, &C.

DUBLIN : JOHN ROBERTSON.

MDCCCXLVII.

PRINTED BY
M'COSH, PARK, AND DEWARS,
DUNDEE.

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THIRD PERIOD.

THE AGE OF SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY

(CONTINUED).

THIRD SECTION.

ANTHROPOLOGY.

§ 173.

GENERAL DEFINITIONS.

THE Greek Church adhered to the opinions of the earlier Fathers, which were collected and more fully developed by *John Damascenus*.⁽¹⁾ He, as well as most of the western theologians, adopted the twofold division into body and soul (vol. i. p. 286), in the intimate connection of which, those scholastics who manifested a leaning towards mysticism, *e. g.*, the disciples of the school of St Victor, along with John Damascenus, perceived a higher design of God, and a moral lesson taught to man.⁽²⁾ The theory designated Creatianism (vol. i. p. 286), which had contested the victory with Traducianism during the preceding period, was now more precisely defined.⁽³⁾ The psychological views of

the mystics stood in a close relation to their entire system, founded, as it was, upon subjective experience, and would, at all events, induce men more easily to descend into the depths of religious contemplation, than the subtleties of the scholastics, which had to do rather with the external.^(4.)

(1.) On the one hand, cosmology was introduced into the doctrine of creation; on the other, both psychology and physiology were introduced into anthropology. With respect to the last two, theologians founded their notions especially upon the physics of Aristotle. Thus John Damascenus, *de fide orthodoxa*, ii. 12–28, treated of the four tempers (*humoribus*, *χυμοῖς*) of man, as corresponding to the four elements of the world, of the various faculties of the soul, etc. He everywhere retained the principal definitions of earlier theologians concerning human *liberty*, etc. (Compare especially c. 25–28.)

(2.) John Damascenus, l. c. c. 12. According to Hugo of St Victor (quoted by Liebner, p. 395), the union of the soul with the body is a type of the mystical union of God with man. Richard of St Victor adopted the same opinion (see Engelhardt, p. 181), which was also held by Peter Lombard, *Sent. Lib. i. Dist. 3. 9.*, and *Lib. ii. Dist. 17.* Thomas Aquinas gave a more fully developed system of psychology, (*Summa P. i. 9. 75–90.* Cramer vii. p. 473.)

(3.) *Anselm* defended creatianism *negatively*, by opposing traducianism, *de conceptu virginali*, c. 7: *Quod autem mox ab ipsa conceptione rationalem animam habeat (homo), nullus humanus suscipit sensus.* *Hugo of St Victor* pronounced positively in favour of creatianism, *de Sacram. Lib. i. P. vii. c. 30*: *fides catholica magis credendum elegit animas quotidie corporibus vivificandis sociandas de nihilo fieri, quam secundum corporis naturam et carnis humanæ proprietatem de traduce propagari.* Comp. Liebner, p. 416. *Robert Pulleyn* brought forward some very singular and abstruse arguments against traducianism, see Cramer vi. p. 474. Peter Lombard also espoused creatianism in decided terms, *Sent. Lib. ii. Dist. 17. c.*: *de aliis (i. e. the souls posterior to Adam and Eve), certissime sentiendum est, quod in corpore creentur. Creando enim infundit eas Deus, et*

infundendo creat. Thomas Aquinas, Summa P. i. Qu. 118. Art. 1., made a distinction between the anima sensitiva and anima intellectiva (which was similar to the distinction formerly made between $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ and $\pi\nu\epsilon\delta\mu\alpha$, or $\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$). The former is propagated in a physical manner, inasmuch as it is allied to the physical; the latter is created by God. More precise definitions were given by Odo of Cambray (A. D. 1113), de peccato originali, Lib. ii. in Maxima Biblioth. PP. Lugd. T. xxi. p. 230–34. Comp. Schröckh, xxviii. p. 436. He designated creatianism as the *orthodox* opinion. Friar Berthold illustrated the said theory in a popular way in his sermons, quoted by Kling, p. 209. (Grimm. p. 206), “As life is given to the child in his mother’s womb, so the angel pours the soul into him, and God Almighty pours the soul with the angel into him.”

(4.) Concerning the mystical psychological views of the disciples of the school of St Victor, see Liebner, p. 334 ss. The three fundamental powers by which the soul knows, are imaginatio, ratio (rather understanding than reason), and intelligentia. Cogitatio corresponds to the first, meditatio to the second, and contemplatio to the third. The treatise, de anima Lib. iv. reprinted in Opp. Hugonis Ed. Rothomag. T. ii. p. 132 ss., which was used as a compendium by the earlier scholastics no less than by the mystics, is sometimes attributed to Hugo of St Victor, but has probably *Alcherus*, abbot of Stella (A. D. 1147), for its author. See Liebner, p. 493 ss. and Engelhardt, Dogmengeschichte ii. p. 119. *Bonaventura* and *Gerson* adopted the said psychological notions. According to the former, *perception* is the principal idea. We see all things in God through the medium of a supernatural light (comp. above, vol. i. § 161). *He*, too, distinguished between sensation, imagination, reason (understanding), intellectus, the highest faculty of the mind, and the synteresis or conscience. *Gerson* (de theol. myst. consid. x.–xxv.) divided the nature of the soul into two fundamental powers (vis cognitiva et vis affectiva). From the higher point of view, he divided the former as follows: intelligentia simplex (the pure faculty of perception), ratio (understanding), and sensualitas (the faculty of perception by means of the senses). They are related to each other, as contemplatio, meditatio, and cogitatio. The

highest degree of the *vis affectiva* is the *Synteresis*,^a the next is the *appetitus rationalis*, and the lowest is the *appetitus animalis*; see Hundeshagen p. 37 ss. Ch. Schmidt p. 76 ss.

§ 174.

THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL.

The assertion of some of the earlier Greek Theologians, that the *ψυχή*, as such, is not immortal, but obtains immortality only by its connection with the *πνεῦμα*, was repeated in the Greek Church by *Nicholas of Methone*.^(1.) In the West, the schoolmen generally taught the immortality of the soul as a *theological truth*, but the chief leaders of the scholastic sects, *Thomas Aquinas* and *Duns Scotus*, were at issue on the question, whether reason furnishes satisfactory proofs of that doctrine.^(2.) *Raimund of Sabunde* rested belief in God, as well as belief in immortality, upon the idea of liberty, and the necessity of moral responsibility.^(3.) But it was the advocates of Platonism especially, who, towards the close of the present period, were at much pains to prove the immortality of the soul, in opposition to the Aristotelians.^(4.) At last, the Council of the Lateran, held A. D. 1513, under Pope Leo X., pronounced the proper immortality of the soul an article of faith, and discarded the distinction between theological and philosophical truths as untenable.^(5.)

(1.) John Damascenus taught (*de fide orthodox.* ii. 12. p. 179.), that the soul is *ἀθάνατος*. Nicholas of Methone, on the contrary, expressed himself as follows (*Refut.* p. 207 and 208.

^a *Synteresis est vis animæ appetitiva suscipiens immediate a Deo naturalem quandam inclinationem ad bonum, per quam trahitur insequi motionem boni ex apprehensione simplicis intelligentiæ præsentati, quoted by Liebner p. 340. Comp. Bonavent. Compend. II. 51.*

quoted by Ullmann, p. 89, 90.): "It is not every soul that neither perishes nor dies, but only the rational, truly spiritual, and divine soul, which is made perfect through virtue, by participating in the grace of God. For the souls of irrational beings, and, still more, of plants, may perish with the things which they inhabit, because they cannot be separated from the bodies which are composed, and may be dissolved into their elements." Compare with this passage what he said, Refut. p. 120: "When any created being is eternal, it is not so *by* itself, nor *in* itself, nor *for* itself, but by the goodness of God; for all that is made and created has a beginning, and retains its existence only through the goodness of the Creator."

(2.) The scholastics, by closely adhering to *Aristotle*, were naturally led to the inquiry, in what sense their master himself had taught the immortality of the soul, in the definition he gave of its nature, viz., that it is ἐντλέχεια ἡ πρώτη σώματος φυσικοῦ ὀργανικοῦ (de anim. ii. 1.) Comp. Münscher edit. by von Cölln ii. p. 90. But Christianity set forth the immortality of the soul in so convincing a manner, that it became necessary, either to return to the old distinction made between natural immortality, and that immortality which is communicated by grace, which was, however, possible only in connection with the threefold division, or to admit a collision between theological and philosophical truths. The distinction which Thomas Aquinas drew between anima sensitiva and anima intellectiva (§ 173 note 3), enabled him to ascribe immortality only to the latter. Comp. Summa P. 1. Qu. 76. Art. 6., where he indeed contented himself with saying, Animam humanam, quam dicimus *intellectivum principium*, esse incorruptibilem. He also thought that it was only the intellectus which rose above space and time (hic et nunc), while the sensus did not go either beyond these ideas, or beyond a figurative mode of perception borrowed from them (intelligere cum phantasmate.) As Anselm of Canterbury had inferred the existence of God himself from the existence of the idea, so Thomas Aquinas proved the immortality of the soul, in a similar manner, by an *ontological* argument: Intellectus apprehendit esse absolute et secundum omne tempus. Unde omne habens intellectum naturaliter desiderat esse semper. Naturale autem desiderium non potest esse inane. Omnis igitur intellectualis substantia est incorruptibilis.

Comp. Engelhardt, Dogmengeschichte ii. p. 123. On the other hand, Scotus, whose views were more nearly allied to those of the nominalists, maintained: Non posse demonstrari, quod anima sit immortalis (Comm. in M. Sentent. L. II. Dist. 17. Qu. 1. Comp. Lib. iv. Dist. 43. Qu. 2.) Bonaventura, on the contrary, asserted de nat. D. ii. 55: Animam esse immortalem, auctoritate ostenditur et ratione. Concerning the further attempts of *Moneta of Cremona* (who lived between the years 1220 and 1250), *William of Auvergne* (bishop of Paris from 1228 to 1249), and *Raimund Martini* (in his *Pugio fidei* adv. Maur. P. i. c. 4.), to prove the immortality of the soul, comp. Münscher ed. by von Cölln. p. 91. 92.

(^{3.}) Theol. naturalis Tit. 92: Quoniam ex operibus hominis, in quantum homo est, nascitur meritum vel culpa, quibus debetur punitio vel præmium, et cum homo, quamdiu vivat, acquirit meritum vel culpam, et de illis non recipit retributiones nec punitiones, dum vivit, et ordo universi non patitur quod aliquid quantumcunque modicum remaneat irremuneratum neque impunitum, ideo necesse est quod remaneat liberum arbitrium, quo fiat radix meritorum et culparum, ut recipiat debitum et rectam retributionem sive punitioem: quod fieri non posset, nisi remaneret liberum arbitrium. Unde cum culpa vel meritum remanet post mortem: necesse est etiam quod maneat liberum arbitrium, in quo est culpa vel meritum, et cui debetur punitio sive retributio, et in quo est capacitas præmii vel punitioem.

(^{4.}) De immortalitate animæ Libri xviii. (Opp. Par. 641. fol.) an extract from which is given by *Buhle* (*Geschichte der neuern Philosophie* vol. ii. p. 171–341.)

(^{5.}) Acta Concil. Reg. T. xxxiv. (Par. 1644. fol.) p. 333. quoted by Münscher ed. by von Cölln, p. 92, 93.

§ 175.

MAN IN HIS STATE OF INNOCENCE PRIOR TO THE FALL.

It was one of the characteristic features of scholasticism, to waste the greatest amount of acuteness upon

those parts of doctrinal theology which do not belong to the province either of psychological experience, or of history, properly so called, and concerning which the Sacred Scriptures give us rather intimations than distinct information. Among such subjects we may mention the doctrine of the angels, together with that of the state of the first man in paradise. Though both the scholastics and mystics frequently applied allegorical interpretation to the biblical narrative,^(1.) the former used it in such a manner, as still to represent the first man with historical accuracy, and to describe him as he came forth from the hands of his Maker.^(2.) In the opinion of some theologians, the *justitia originalis* was added to the *pura naturalia*, as a *donum superadditum*, while others, *e. g.* Thomas Aquinas, distinguished between the purely human, and the divine which is added, only in the abstract, but made them coincide in the concrete. According to the latter notion, man was created in the full possession of the Divine righteousness, and not deprived of it till after the fall:^(3.) Most theologians still made a distinction between the *image* of God, and *resemblance* to God,^(4.) and ventured upon many conjectures respecting the former, as well as man's state of innocence in general.^(5.) The definitions concerning the liberty of man were beset with the greatest difficulties. The fall of man could not have been possible, without the liberty of choice. But, according to Augustine, something more was required to constitute perfect righteousness, than the liberty of choice alluded to, inasmuch as man continued in the possession of it after his fall, *viz.*, as a liberty to do evil. But if our first parents, on account of their true liberty, were above the temptations to sin, how could they be seduced and fall? According to *Hugo of St Victor*, the liberty in question consisted both in the power

to sin and not to sin, but the disposition to good was stronger than the propensity to evil. Others adopted similar views.^(6.)

(1.) *John Damascenus* (de fide orthodoxa ii. c. 10. p. 175.) connected the allegorical interpretation with the historical. As man himself is composed of body and soul, so his first dwelling-place was *αἰσθητὸς* as well as *νοητός*. According to him, sensual delight in the garden, and spiritual communion with God, are correlative ideas. Peter Lombard theoretically adopted the literal interpretation of the Mosaic narrative, Sent. ii. Dist. 17. E., though he also considered it a type of the Church; but many of his practical expositions were allegorical, e. g. Dist. 24. H., quoted by Münscher ed. by von Cölln. p. 94. According to him, the serpent represented that sensuality which still suggests sinful thoughts to man; the woman may be called the inferior part of reason, which is first persuaded, and afterwards leads the man (the higher reason) into temptation. Thomas Aquinas also taught, P. i. Qu. 102. Art. 1.: *Ea enim, quæ de Paradiso in Scriptura dicuntur, per modum narrationis historicæ proponuntur* (in accordance with his hermeneutical principle, see vol. 1. § 164. note 4.) On the other hand, Scotus Erigena boldly raised doubts as to the literal interpretation of the said narrative (de divina natura iv. 15. p. 196.), and regarded it as an ideal description of the happiness which would have been the lot of mankind, if our first parents had resisted temptation: *Fuisse Adam temporaliter in Paradiso, priusquam de costa ejus mulier fabricaretur, dicat quis potest.....Nec unquam steterat, nam si saltem vel parvo spatio stetisset, necessario ad aliquam perfectionem perveniret.p. 197: Non enim credibile est, eundem hominem et in contemplatione æternæ pacis stetisse et suadente femina, serpentis veneno corrupta, corruisse.* Comp. Baur, *Versöhnungslehre*, p. 127.

(2.) This led to a multitude of absurd questions concerning the nature and durability of their bodies, e. g. why the man had been created before the woman? and why the latter had been made out of the rib of the former? whether, and in what manner, the propagation of the sexes would have taken place, if our first parents had continued in their state of innocence? whether their children would have inherited their original righteousness? whether more

males or more females would have been born? “*What singular dreams! How could men so sedate and grave as monks were, or ought to have been, waste so much time upon the examination, discussion, and defence of such questions? In the Summa of Alexander Hales, this subject fills five pages in folio.*” Cramer vii. p. 493.

(^{3.}) The former opinion was adopted by Scotus Erigena, Sent. Lib. ii. Dist. 39., and Bonaventura Sent. Lib. ii. Dist. 29. Art. ii. Qu. 2. Compare Brev. iii. 25. Cent. ii. § 2. Hugo of St Victor, de Sacram. Lib. i. p. 6. Alexander Hales P. ii. Qu. 96. Comp. Cramer vii. p. 494 ss. Marheinecke, Symbolik iii. p. 13 ss. On the contrary, the assertion of Thomas Aquinas (P. i. Qu. 95. Art. 9.), that man, *prior* to the fall, had never been in the condition of the *pura naturalia*, but, from the moment of his creation, had possessed the *donum superadditum*, which belonged, therefore, altogether to his very nature, was more nearly allied to the view of later Protestant theologians. See Cramer and Marheinecke l. c., and on the other side Baur, Symbolik p. 34.

(^{4.}) John Damascenus adhered to the distinction drawn by the Greek Fathers, de fide orthodox. ii. c. 12. Hugo of St Victor, de Sacram. Lib. i. P. 6. c. 2. distinguished:.....*Imago secundum rationem, similitudo secundum dilectionem, imago secundum cognitionem veritatis, similitudo secundum amorem virtutis, vel imago secundum scientiam, similitudo secundum substantiam.* . . . *Imago pertinet ad figuram, similitudo ad naturam* etc. Hugo, however, restricted the image of God to the soul, and decidedly excluded the body; for the passages, see Münscher ed. by von Cölln p. 94. 95. Peter Lombard made a somewhat different distinction (Sent. Lib. ii. Dist. 16. D.), by numbering the *dilectio* among those qualities which form the *image* (*memoria, intelligentia et dilectio*); he conceived the *resemblance* to God to consist in the *innocentia et justitia quæ in mente rationali naturaliter sunt*. He also expressed himself more briefly thus: *Imago consideratur in cognitione veritatis, similitudo in amore virtutis*. Agreeably to Hugo of St Victor, he asserted, *Imago pertinet ad formam, similitudo ad naturam.*^a

^a The mystics, and those among the theologians of the middle ages who held similar views, endeavoured to demonstrate the image of God externally by the most singular illustrations. God, said Berthold (quoted by Kling p. 305. 306. Wackernagel Lesebuch

(⁵) Similar conjectures were formed concerning man's dominion over the earth, and over the animal kingdom. Thom. Aquinas, P. i., Qu. 96 ; Cramer, vii., p. 499, 500. Questions were raised, such as, Would Adam have possessed *all* virtues, and in what manner, if he had not sinned? In what respect may he be said to have possessed, *e. g.*, chastity, since it did not exist until sin entered into the world? He did not possess it *actually*, but *habitually* (*i. e.*, he possessed the disposition to it.) Did man, in his state of innocence, possess passions and affections? Yes, *viz.*, such as refer to that which is good ; they were, however, moderate and harmonious. Could men have ruled over one another? No ; nevertheless a superiority of wisdom and righteousness might have taken place, etc. The definitions of the earlier scholastics, such as *Anselm of Canterbury* (*cur Deus homo* II. 1, *rationalis natura justa est facta, ut summo bono, i. e., Deo fruendo beata esset*), as well as of the mystics, both before and after the times of Thomas Aquinas, were simpler, or had, at least, regard rather to the religious and moral. Thus, Hugo of St Victor conceived the original excellency of man, in point of knowledge, to consist, 1. In *cognitione perfecta omnium visibilium* ; 2. In *cognitione creatoris per praesentiam contemplationis seu per internam inspirationem* ; 3. In *cognitione sui ipsius, qua conditionem et ordinem et debitum suum sive supra se, sive in se, sive sub se non ignoraret*. See Liebner, p. 410, note 61. In reference to the will of man, there existed, previous to his fall, two blessings, the one an earthly one, *viz.*, the world ; and the other a heavenly one, *viz.*, God. The former was freely given to man, the latter he was to obtain by his own merits. In order that man might retain the earthly blessing, and acquire the heavenly one, the *praeceptum naturae* was given him for the one, the *praeceptum disciplinae* (*i. e.*, the command not to eat the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil) for the other. He possessed the former by nature, but received the latter from without. Accordingly, man could guard against negligence (*contra*

p. 678.), has written upon the face of man, that *he* has created him, "with flourished letters." His two eyes correspond to the two letters o in the word homo. The curved eye-brows above, and the nose between the eyes, form the letter m ; h is a mere accessory letter. The ear is the letter d, "beautifully circled and flourished;" the nostrils form a Greek ε, "beautifully circled and flourished;" the mouth forms an i, "beautifully circled and flourished." *All together from the phrase, "homo Dei."*

negligentiam), in respect to the external command, by using caution, and by his own reason ; but God protected him against violence (contra violentiam). Compare *Gerson* de meditatione cons. 2. p. 449, ss. (quoted by Hundeshagen, p. 42.): Fuit ab initio bene conditæ rationalis creaturæ talis ordo ordinisque tranquillitas, quod ad nutum et merum imperium sensualitas rationi inferiori et inferior ratio superiori serviebat. Et erat ab inferioribus ad superiora pronus et facilis ascensus, faciente hoc levitate originalis justitiæ subvehentis sursum corda. In the writings of *John Wessel* we only meet now and then with unconnected expressions concerning the *original condition* of man ; the profoundest and most important is de orat. xi. 3, p. 184 (quoted by Ullmann, p. 239). “ In the state of innocence there existed a necessity for breathing, eating, and sleeping, and, to counteract the dissolution which threatened man, he was permitted to eat of the fruit of the tree of life ;” *i. e.*, though man was subject to certain natural restrictions, he was, nevertheless, free from pressing wants, from the necessity of suffering, of disease, and death ; for the partaking of the fruit of the tree of life secured his immortality.

(⁶) Hugo of St Victor assumed the existence of three or four kinds of liberty : 1. Man, in his *original state*, possessed the power to sin, and the power not to sin (posse peccare et posse non peccare), to which power, was added assistance to do good (adjutorium in bono), but an infirmity to do evil (infirmitas in malo), though in such a manner as neither to compel him to do good, nor forcibly to restrain him from evil. 2. In the *middle state of man after the fall*, the case is as follows :—*a*, Prior to his restoration (ante reparationem), man wants the divine grace (assistance) to do good, and the infirmity to evil degenerates into a propensity to evil, *i. e.*, potest peccare et non potest non peccare. (Though the idea of liberty is not thereby entirely set aside, it is at least greatly weakened.) *b*, Man, *after* his redemption (justification), but *before* his complete sanctification, possesses grace to do good, and infirmity to do evil, *i. e.*, potest peccare et potest non peccare (the former because of his liberty and infirmity, the latter because of his liberty and by means of assisting grace). 3. In the *highest state of perfection* there is both the possibility not to sin, and the impossibility to sin (posse non

peccare et non posse peccare), not because the liberty of the will, or the infirmity of the flesh, is abolished, but because man will never be deprived of assisting grace which admits no sin. Cap. 16, see Liebner, p. 403. *John Wessel* also so defined the liberty which man possessed in his original state, as to ascribe to him the unlimited power of attaining and performing, without the assistance of others, or the influence of education, that which the idea of humanity implies, viz., such a perfection as to fit him for communion with God. See Ullmann, p. 240-41.

§ 176.

THE FALL OF MAN, AND SIN IN GENERAL.

One of the most important questions was, in what the fall of our first parents consisted, and in what the nature of sin in general consists? Questions of secondary moment, such as, whether Adam's sin or Eve's, had been the greater? were only occasionally made the subject of discussion.⁽¹⁾ Even during the present period there were some, and towards its close *Agrippa of Nettersheim* in particular, who asserted that the sin of the first man had consisted in the awakening of his carnal propensities, and endeavoured to establish their opinion by the aid of the allegorical interpretation.⁽²⁾ But the large majority of theologians held, that the origin of sin is not to be traced to one simple act, but to the disobedience of man to God, which took its rise principally in pride.⁽³⁾ After the example of *Augustine*, the definitions respecting the nature of sin were for the most part negative.⁽⁴⁾ *Hugo of St Victor* endeavoured to explain the nature of sin from the conflict of the two propensities in man, the one of which (*appetitus justus*) leads to God, the other (*appetitus commodi*) to the world. The latter propensity is not evil in itself, but the abandonment of the right medium is

the cause of sin.⁽⁵⁾ The mystics supposed sin to consist in this, that man strives to possess an independent existence as creature, and the author of the work entitled "Deutsche Theologie," carried this notion so far as to compare the fall of man to that of the devil.⁽⁶⁾ The further enumeration and classification of particular sins, their division into sins mortal and venial, belong rather to the history of ethics, than to that of doctrines.⁽⁷⁾

(1) Anselmus de peccato, orig. c. 9. Though it was Eve who first disobeyed the Divine command, Adam, as the father of the human race, in the proper sense of the word, is also the father of sin. Many of the reasons which may be urged on either side, are to be found in the works of Peter Lombard (Lib. ii. Dist. 22), and Thomas Aquinas, P. ii. Qu. 163, Art. 4. Bonaventura (Brevil. iii. 3. 4.) ascribed an equal amount of guilt to either, but supposed the punishment double in the case of the wife. On the contrary, according to *Agrippa of Nettersheim*, Adam sinned knowingly, Eve was only seduced, Opp. T. ii. p. 528. See Meiners' Biographie, p. 233. According to *Tauler* (Predigten, i. p. 61), theologians assert, that we should have suffered no harm, if Eve alone had eaten of the fruit. Concerning the farther question of the scholastics, whether sin would have been communicated to Eve if Adam had transgressed the Divine command *before* the creation of his wife, compare Cramer vii. p. 534, ss. On the singular opinions of *Pulleyn* see ib. vol. vi. p. 481, ss.

(2) Disputatio de orig. pecc. in Opp. T. ii. p. 553, ss., quoted by Meiners, l. c. p. 254, note 3 (he regarded the serpent as the membrum, serpens lubricum). The opinion according to which sin consists in the first instance in sensuality, was most decidedly *opposed* by *Anselm*, de pecc. orig. c. 4. : Nec isti appetitus, quos Ap. carnem vocat (Gal. 5.)...justi vel injusti sunt per se considerandi. Non enim justum faciunt vel injustum sentientem, sed injustum tantum voluntate, cum non debet, consentientem. Non eos sentire, sed eis consentire peccatum est.

(3) Joh. Dam. de fide orth. ii. 30. (in calce) : ὅθεν καὶ θεότητος ἐλπίδι ὁ ψεύστης δαλεάζει τὸν ἄθλιον, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον τῆς

ἐπάρσεως ἕψος ἀναγαγών, πρὸς τὸ ὅμοιον καταφέρει τῆς πτώσεως βάραθρον.—Peter Lomb. Lib. ii. Dist. 22. Thomas Aquinas, P. ii. Qu. 163. Nevertheless sensuality (*i. e.* the desire after the forbidden fruit) was also mentioned as a subordinate principle; see Tauler's Predigten i. p. 51, 79; Cramer vii. p. 524.

(4.) Joh. Dam. Lib. ii. c. 30: ἡ γὰρ κακία οὐδὲν ἕτερόν ἐστιν, εἰ μὴ ἀναχώρησις τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ: John Scotus *Erigena* looked upon sin from the negative point of view, by comparing it to the leprosy which has infected humanity, but which is to be removed by Divine grace (de div. nat. v. 5, p. 230), and then continues as follows: magisque dicendum, quod ipsa natura quæ ad imaginem Dei facta est, suæ pulchritudinis vigorem integritatemque essentiali nequaquam perdidit, neque perdere potest. Divina siquidem forma semper incommutabilis permanet; capax tamen corruptibilium pœna peccati facta est...quicquid vero naturali corpori ex concretionibus elementorum et animæ ex sordibus irrationabilium motuum superadditum est, in fluxu et corruptione semper est. In his opinion, "*Sin is only a principle which disappears, and is destroyed in itself, and therefore does not imply a moral act.*" Baur, Versöhnungslehre, p. 135. On the other hand, Abelard (in his treatise scito teipsum), attaching particular importance to the act which is performed with the considerate approbation of the person acting, makes sin (formally) depend on the *intention* with which anything is done; see the extracts given by *De Wette*, Sittenlehre iii. p. 124, ss. *Anselm's* definitions of sin are also of a negative description, cur Deus homo i. 11: Non est itaque aliud peccare, quam Deo non reddere debitum; de conceptu virginali c. 26.: justitiæ debitæ nuditas. Comp. Münscher edit. by Von Cölln, i. p. 121, ss.

(5) According to *Hugo of St Victor* (Lib. i. P. 6, c. 1-22, quoted by Liebner, p. 412, ss.), the first sin was the twofold disobedience to the law of nature and the law of discipline. Having laid that basis, he proceeded to a further scientific examination of the nature of sin. He supposed it to consist in the discord existing between the appetitus justī, and the appetitus commodi, both of which are innate. Man abandoning the right medium, desiring the higher good, rising above himself, and striving, in the pride and presumption of his heart, both to be equal to God, and to possess him before the appointed time, fell

from his state of innocence. Thus it happened, that he also lost the right medium in his desires after the inferior good ; for as the mind of man, which held likewise the reins of the flesh, did not succeed in its higher efforts, and fell, as it were, out of the right medium, he abandoned also the reins of the flesh, and let it go without measure and precaution, in consequence of which, all external evils broke in upon him (*transgressio superioris et inferioris appetitus*). The *former* loss was accordingly culpa, the *latter* both culpa and poena ; the one was a loss for the spirit, the other for the flesh, since man retained the irregular appetitus commodi without obtaining the commodum itself. Abandoning the appetitus justus, man lost at the same time the justitia, which is not only inseparable from it, but also consists in it ; nothing was left to him but the unsatisfied appetitus commodi, which is here on earth a foretaste of hell, a necessitas concupiscendi, etc., c. 11-22. “*From what is said above, it follows that evil does not consist either in the object desired (for man always desires a good even in the act of concupiscentia), or in the act of desiring, in putting the faculty of desire into exercise (for it is a gift of God), but only in not setting proper boundaries to our desires.*” Liebner l. c. Hugo of St Victor also endeavoured to give an answer to the question, how the first sin could have possibly been committed by one who was created good ? Adam could not have sinned either nolens or volens. He only ceased to desire the good (justum velle desiit), c. 12 ; agreeable to this are the negative definitions, c. 16. Et ideo malum nihil est cum id, quod esse deberet, non est ; and Lib. i. P. 5, c. 26 : Peccatum nec substantia est, nec de substantia, sed privatio boni. See Liebner p. 415.—Concerning the notions of Wessel on the nature of sin (want of love) compare Ullmann, l. c. p. 241.

(⁶) Deutsche Theologie, cap. 2. The Scriptures, faith and truth, say, that sin is only the turning of the creature from the unchangeable to the changeable, *i. e.*, from the perfect to the imperfect and incomplete, and principally to himself. Now observe, when man puts himself in possession of any thing that is good, or appropriates it as being (*i. e.*, when he imagines that he has his being from himself, and when he wants to be something, while he is nothing) ; as life (*i. e.*, when he imagines that he has life in himself) ; and as knowledge (*i. e.*, when he imagines that he knows

much and can do much), in short, when he endeavours to obtain all that which is called good, imagining that he is the same, or that the same belongs to him, then he rebels against his Maker. For what else did the devil, or what was his rebellion or his fall, if not that he thought himself something, and presumed to be something, and pretended that something belonged to him. This presumption to be something, his I [Germ. Ich], (*i. e.*, his self-love), his me [Germ. Mich], (*i. e.*, his self-will), his to me [Germ. Mir], (*i. e.*, his self-esteem), and his mine [Germ. Mein], (*i. e.*, his own good), were, and are still, his rebellion and his fall. Cap. 3 : What else did Adam than what Lucifer does ? They say that Adam fell and was lost, because he ate the apple. I say : He fell by accepting, assuming, or appropriating to himself that which belonged to God, viz., by his I (*i. e.*, his self-love), by his me (*i. e.*, his self-will), by his mine (*i. e.*, because of the good which he had usurped), and by his to me (*i. e.*, on account of his own honour, wisdom, etc.) *Though he might have eaten seven apples*, if there had been neither acceptance nor appropriation, he would not have fallen ; as soon as he accepted the apple offered to him, he fell, *even though he had never brought it to his mouth.*

(⁷) De Wette, christliche Sittenlehre iii. p. 147, ss. (after Thomas Aquinas).

§ 177.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE FIRST SIN. ORIGINAL SIN.

FREEDOM OF THE WILL.

The more intimate the supposed connection between the primitive state of man and the *justitia originalis*, the greater was thought to be the guilt of his fall. The theologians of the Greek Church contented themselves with believing in a deterioration of the moral power of man, and retained the earlier notions concerning his liberty.⁽¹⁾ In the Western Church almost all the schoolmen followed *Augustine*,⁽²⁾ though some of them

adopted opinions which, in many essential points, differed from the fundamental principles of that father. Thus *Abelard*, among the earlier scholastics, referred the hereditary nature of the first sin not to sin itself, but to its punishment.⁽³⁾ Several of the later schoolmen also, especially *Duns Scotus* and his followers, manifested a leaning towards Semipelagianism, while *Thomas Aquinas* and his school adhered more strictly to the definitions of Augustine.⁽⁴⁾ The mystics in general complained of the entire depravity of the old man (Adam), but avoided indulging in subtle definitions.⁽⁵⁾ And, lastly, the evangelical theologians, previous to the age of the Reformation, such as *John Wessel*, also looked upon the unregenerate as the children of wrath, though they made a difference between the accountability of original sin and natural transgression.⁽⁶⁾

(1) Joh. Dam. de fide orth. ii. c. 12, p. 178 : Ἐποίησε δὲ αὐτὸν, φύσει ἀναμάρτητον καὶ θελήσει αὐτεξούσιον· ἀναμάρτητον δὲ φημι, οὐχ ὡς μὴ ἐπιδεχόμενον ἁμαρτίαν· μόνον γὰρ τὸ θεῖον ἁμαρτίας ἐστὶν ἀνεπίδεκτον· ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἐν τῇ φύσει τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν ἔχοντα, ἐν τῇ προαιρέσει δὲ μᾶλλον· ἦτοι ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα μένειν καὶ προκόπτειν ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ, τῇ θείᾳ συνεργούμενον χάριτι, ὡσαύτως καὶ τρέπεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦ, καὶ ἐν τῷ κακῷ γίνεσθαι, τοῦ θεοῦ παραχωροῦντος διὰ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον· οὐκ ἀρετὴ γὰρ τὸ βίᾳ γινόμενον. Comp. c. 22, p. 187-88, c. 24, 27.....Further, c. 27, p. 194-95 : εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, ἐξ ἀνάγκης παρυσφίσταται τῷ λογικῷ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον. ἢ γὰρ οὐκ ἔσται λογικὸν, ἢ γλοικὸν ὄν, κύριον ἔσται πράξεων καὶ αὐτεξούσιον· ὅθεν καὶ τὰ ἄλογα οὐκ εἰσὶν αὐτεξούσια· ἄγονται γὰρ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως, ἢπερ ἄγουσι· διὸ οὐδὲ ἀντιλέγουσι τῇ φυσικῇ ὀρέξει, ἀλλ' ἅμα ὀρεχθῶσί τινος, ὀρμῶσι πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν· ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος λογικὸς ὢν, ἄγει μᾶλλον τὴν φύσιν ἢπερ ἄγεται· διὸ καὶ ὀρεγόμενος, εἴπερ ἐθέλοι, ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ἀναχαιτίσαι τὴν ὀρεξιν, ἢ ἀκολουθήσαι αὐτῇ· ὅθεν τὰ μὲν ἄλογα οὐδὲ ἐπαινεῖται, οὐδὲ ψέγεται· ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἐπαινεῖται καὶ ψέγεται. c. 30, p. 198 :

³ The passage in question refers, in the first instance, to the first man, but, as may be seen from the context, admits of a general application in the case of all men.

(ὁ θεὸς) οὐ γὰρ θέλει τὴν κακίαν γίνεσθαι, οὐδὲ βιάζεται τὴν ἀρετὴν. We may also notice the usage of *παρὰ φύσιν* and *κατὰ φύσιν*, *ibid.* p. 100, and compare it with Augustine's usage of *natura*. In his opinion, the effects of the fall consist in this, that man is *θανάτῳ ὑπεύθυνος καὶ φθορᾷ καὶ πόνῳ καθυποβληθήσεται καὶ ταλαίπωρον ἔλκων βίον* (*ibid.*). In the moral aspect man is *γυμνωθεὶς τῆς χάριτος καὶ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν παρρησίαν ἀπεκδυσάμενος* (*Lib. iii. c. 1.*) *Comp. iv. 20.* John Damascenus was also followed by the rest of the Greek theologians, Theodore Studita, Theophylact, Euthymius Zigabenus, Nicetas Choniates, and Nicholas of Methone. The views of the latter (taken from his *Refut.*) are given by Ullmann, *l. c.* p. 86, ss. He also laid great stress upon the freedom of the will, and admitted that the Divine image was only darkened by the fall.

(²) Anselm expressed himself in very rigid terms concerning the accountability of original sin, to the exclusion of all milder principles, *de orig. pecc. c. 3*: *Si vero dicitur originale peccatum non esse absolute dicendum peccatum, sed cum additamento originale peccatum, sicut pius homo non vere homo est, sed vere est homo pius, profecto sequitur: quia infans qui nullum habet peccatum nisi originale, mundus est e peccato: nec fuit solus inter homines filius virginis in utero matris et nascens de matre sine peccato: et aut non damnatur infans, qui moritur sine baptismo, nullum habens peccatum præter originale, aut sine peccato damnatur. Sed nihil horum accipimus. Quare omne peccatum est injustitia, et originale peccatum est absolute peccatum, unde sequitur quod est injustitia. Item si Deus non damnat nisi propter injustitiam; damnat autem aliquem propter originale peccatum, ergo non est aliud originale peccatum, quam injustitia. Quod si ita est, originale peccatum non est aliud quam injustitia, i. e. absentia debitæ justitiæ, etc.* Nevertheless it is not the sin of Adam as such, but man's *own* sinful acts, which are accounted to him, *c. 25*: *Quapropter cum damnatur infans pro peccato originali, damnatur non pro peccato Adæ, sed pro suo; nam si ipse non haberet suum peccatum, non damnaretur.*—He opposed the theory of the *material* propagation of sin (by traducianism) in what follows, *c. 7.* (compare above, §. 173, note 3): *Sicut in Adam omnes peccavimus, quando ille peccavit: non quia tunc peccavimus ipsi, qui nondum eramus, sed quia de illo futuri era-*

mus, et tunc facta est illi necessitas, ut cum essemus, peccaremus (Rom. 5); simili modo de immundo semine, in iniquitatibus et in peccatis concipi potest homo intelligi, non quod in semine sit immunditia peccati, aut peccatum sive iniquitas: sed quia ab ipso semine et ipsa conceptione, ex qua incipit homo esse, accipit necessitatem, ut cum habeat animam rationalem, habeat peccati immunditiam, quæ non est aliud quam peccatum et iniquitas. Nam etsi ex vitiosa concupiscentia semine generetur infans, non tamen magis est in semine culpa, quam est in sputo vel in sanguine, si quis mala voluntate exspuit aut de sanguine suo aliquid emittit, non enim sputum aut sanguis, sed mala voluntas arguitur.^{a)} On the question how far all men have sinned *in Adam*? compare ch. 1 and 2, and ch. 21, 22. Anselm also thought that there was a kind of reaction between original sin, and the sinful acts of individuals, c. 26: Sicut persona propter naturam peccatrix nascitur: ita natura propter personam magis peccatrix redditur. Concerning *the mode of the propagation of sin*, viz., whether it is communicated in the first instance to the soul, or to the body, etc., the scholastics differed in their opinions. Comp. Münscher ed. by Von Cölln, p. 132. (especially the opinion of Peter Lombard, Lib. ii. Dist. 31). Some of the later theologians, *e. g.*, Savonarola, adhering to Augustine and Anselm, taught similar notions: Quid autem est peccatum originale, nisi privatio justitiæ originalis? Ideo homo, conceptus et natus in hujusmodi peccato, totus obliquus est, totus curvus... Peccatum itaque originale radix est omnium peccatorum, fomes enim omnium iniquitatum. Medit. in Psalm. p. 17. quoted by Meier, Savonarola, p. 260.

⁽³⁾ Since Abelard maintained that the free consent of man was necessary to constitute sin (§ 176, note 4), he could not speak of sin, in the proper sense of the word, in the case of new-born infants; yet he did not feel disposed to deny original sin altogether. He therefore took the word "sin" in a twofold sense applying it to

^a Anselm would not have admitted the force of the argument frequently urged in favour of the doctrine of original sin, viz., that certain moral dispositions, which may be called hereditary sins, are propagated like certain physical disorders, inasmuch as he taught, c. 23 (in connection with what has been said above), that the sin of Adam *alone* is transmitted to his posterity, but not that of the parents to their children. His reasoning was quite logical, because the idea of original sin would otherwise become too relative! Concerning the relation in which Anselm's theory stood to that of Luther (Flacianus?) see Möbler, Kleine Schriften, i. p. 167.

the punishment, as well as to sin itself. Infants have a part only in the former, but not in the latter. Nor did Abelard conceive how unbelief in Christ could be imputed to infants, or those to whom the Gospel is not announced. *Scito te ipsum*, c. 14, quoted by de Wette, *Sittenlehre* iii. p. 131. He also praised the virtues of the better part of the Greeks, especially of philosophers, in particular of the Platonists; *Theol. Christ.* ii. p. 1211; compare above § 158, note 2. Neander, *der heilige Bernhard*, p. 125.

(4) The said difference is connected with the one above alluded to concerning the original state of man (§ 175). As the *justitia originalis*, according to Duns Scotus, was not so intimately united with the nature of man, as Thomas Aquinas supposed, the loss of the supernatural gifts was less great, and might take place without such intense pains as Augustine's rigid doctrine would lead us to imagine. See *Sent. Lib. ii. Dist. 29*. On the contrary, Thomas Aquinas expressed himself as follows: *Summ. P. ii. 1, Qu. 85, Art. 3*, quoted by Münscher, edit. by Von Cölln, p. 134): *per justitiam originalem perfecte ratio continebat inferiores animæ vires et ipsa ratio perficiebatur a Deo et subjecta. Hæc autem originalis justitia subtracta est per peccatum primi parentis.....et ideo omnes vires animæ remanent quodammodo destitutæ proprio ordine, quo naturaliter ordinantur ad virtutem et ipsa destitutio vulneratio naturæ dicitur.* *Comp. Bonav. Brevil. iii. 6, ss.*

(5) *Deutsche Theologie*, c. 14. He who lives a selfish life, and according to the old man, is, and may justly be called the child of Adam; he may even have sunk so deep, as to be the child and brother of the devil.....All who imitate Adam's disobedience, are dead, and can be made alive only in Christ, *i. e.*, by obedience. As long as a man is Adam, and Adam's child, he is his own self, and lives without God.....Hence it follows, that all the children of Adam are dead in respect to God.....We shall never repent of sin, nor commence a better life, until we return to obedience.....Disobedience is sin itself, etc.

(6) *Wessel*, de magnit. pass. c. 59, and other passages quoted by Ullmann, p. 244. Savonarola taught in a similar manner concerning the posterity of Adam: *rationem culpæ non habent reatu non carent.* *Triumph. Cruc. Lib. iii. c. 9, p. 280, ss.* (quoted by Meier, p. 261). Beside original sin, there were yet

other effects of the fall (such as death and other evils), which had before this been mentioned by the earlier Church, and to which the greater importance was attached, on account of their connection with the imputation of sin. Death itself did not enter into the world till later, but *mortality* came together with sin. On the question, in how far God may be said to have been the author of death? etc., see Cramer vii. p. 528. According to *Scotus Erigena*, the distinction of the sexes is the effect of sin; de div. nat. ii. 5, p. 49: Reatu suæ prævaricationis obrutus, naturæ suæ divisionem in masculum et fœminam est passus et... .. in pecorinam corruptibilemque ex masculo et fœmina numerositatem justo judicio redactus est.

§ 178.

EXCEPTIONS TO THE UNIVERSAL CORRUPTION OF MANKIND. THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION OF THE VIRGIN.

The earlier notion advanced not only by the heretic Pelagius, but also by the orthodox Athanasius, according to which several individuals had remained free from the general corruption, was not likely longer to receive countenance.⁽¹⁾ It was only the Virgin, who, having long been elevated above the rest of humanity by an excessive adoration, was to share the privilege of her son Jesus, viz., to appear sinless on the page of history; some theologians of repute, however, raised their voices against such a doctrine.⁽²⁾ In the course of the twelfth century, the notion of the immaculate conception of the Virgin gained great authority in the first instance in France. But when the canons of Lyons instituted (A. D. 1140) a particular festival in honour of that doctrine, by which a new Lady-day was added to those already in existence, *Bernard of Clairval*

clearly perceiving, that thus the specific difference between our Saviour and the rest of mankind was in danger of being set aside, strongly opposed both the new doctrine and the festival.⁽³⁾ Nor did *Albert the Great*, *Bonaventura*, *Thomas Aquinas*, and the order of the Dominicans in general, approve of what had been done.⁽⁴⁾ On the other hand, the Franciscan monk, *Duns Scotus*, endeavoured to refute their objections, and to demonstrate, by subtle reasoning, that the superiority of the Redeemer, so far from being lessened, was augmented, by supposing that he himself was the cause of this righteousness in the nature of Mary.⁽⁵⁾ The Church hesitated for a long time without coming to a decision.⁽⁶⁾ Pope Sixtus IV., at last, confirmed the festival of the immaculate conception, and declared, that the doctrine itself should not be called heretical, without, however, prohibiting those who differed from retaining their own views.⁽⁷⁾ Thus the controversy did not come to an end, especially as the tendency of the age was rather favourable to the doctrine in question.⁽⁸⁾

(1) Thus Anselm de pecc. orig. drew a distinct line between the birth of John the Baptist (which was relatively miraculous, but did not, on that account, render him sinless), and the incarnation of the Redeemer (which excluded original sin).

(2) Concerning the worship of the Virgin in general, see § 188, on the worship of saints. The controversy on the immaculate conception was preceded by that carried on between *Paschasius Radbert* and *Ratramnus*, concerning the virginity of Mary. Comp. § 179, towards the end. Radbert himself maintained that Mary was sanctificata in utero matris (in d'Ackery Spic. Tom. i. p. 46), but it is difficult precisely to define what he understood by that expression (compare the following note). It was, however, not only the worship of the Virgin as such, which led to the supposition of her immaculate conception, but this seemed a necessary inference from doctrinal premises. Theologians so acute as the scholastics could not but be aware that, in order to explain

the miracle of Christ's sinlessness on physical grounds, it was not sufficient to assert that man had no part in his generation; for as long as his mother was supposed to be stained with original sin, it was impossible to deny the part which she had in that event, unless they had recourse (after the manner of the Doctæ, and the Valentinians, in particular) to a mere birth *διὰ σωλήνος* (comp. vol. i. § 65.) Anselm endeavoured to remove this difficulty, by leaving the physical aspect of original sin more or less out of question, (comp. the preceding §,) *de pecc. orig.* c. 8. and c. 11. He decidedly *rejected* the doctrine of immaculate conception in his treatise *cur Deus homo* ii. c. 16: *Virgo tamen ipsa, unde assumtus est, est in iniquitatibus concepta, et in peccatis concepit eam mater ejus, et cum originali peccato nata est, quoniam et ipsa in Adam peccavit, in quo omnes peccaverunt.* Compare the latter part of that chapter, and ch. 17.^a

⁽³⁾ Bernardi Ep. 174. ad Canonicos Lugdunenses, quoted by Gieseler ii. 2. p. 429. and Münscher edit. by von Cölln. p. 136. He, too, admitted that Mary had been sanctified in the womb (as Paschasius taught), but he did not draw from that doctrine the inference that she was free from original sin (*quatenus adversus originale peccatum hæc ipsa sanctificatio valuerit, non temere dixerim*), and continues as follows: *Etsi quibus vel paucis filiorum hominum datum est cum sanctitate nasci, non tamen et concipi, ut uni sane servaretur sancti prærogativa conceptus, qui omnes sanctificaret, solusque absque peccato veniens, purgationem faceret peccatorum, etc.*

⁽⁴⁾ Albert M. Sent. Lib. iii. Dist. 3. Thom. Aqu. Summ. P. iii. Qu. 27. Art. 2. Bonav. in Sent. Lib. iii. Dist. 3. Art. 1. Qu. 2. (quoted by Gieseler l. c. and Münscher ed. by von Cölln. p. 136. 37.)

⁽⁵⁾ In Sent. Lib. iii. Dist. 3. Qu. 1. and. Dist. 18. Qu. 1. (quoted by Gieseler) see Schröckh, Kirchengesch. xxxiii. p. 362. ss. Cramer vii. p. 567. ss.

⁽⁶⁾ See Gieseler l. c. p. 431. The council of Oxford (A. D. 1222)

^a Those theologians who sought to clear the mother of Christ from the guilt of original sin, did not bear in mind, that they only pushed the miracle one step further back, without entirely removing it; for in that case the parents of Mary must have been free from original sin, and again their parents, etc., and so on up to Adam. Bernard of Clairval seemed to perceive this difficulty. Compare his epistle to the canons of Lyons, mentioned note 3.

pronounced against the necessity of the festival; on the question whether the university of Paris pronounced in favour of it, see Gieseler. It was definitely adopted by the Synod of Basle, Sess. xxxvi. (A. D. 1439. Sept. 17th) in Harduini Concc. T. viii. Col. 1266: Nos.....doctrinam illam disserentem gloriosam virginem Dei genitricem Mariam, præveniente et operante divini numinis gratia singulari, nunquam actualiter subjacuisse originali peccato, sed immunem semper fuisse ab omni originali et actuali culpa sanctamque et immaculatam, tamquam piam et consonam cultui ecclesiastico, fidei catholicæ, rectæ rationi et sacræ scripturæ, ab omnibus catholicis approbandam fore, tenendam et amplectendam, diffinimus et declaramus, nullique de cætero licitum esse in contrarium prædicare seu docere. (The celebration of the festival was fixed upon December 8th.)

(7) See the bulls of Pope Sixtus IV. dated Febr. 27th A. D. 1477, and Sept. 4th, A. D. 1483, in Extravagant. comm. Lib. iii. Tit. 12. Cap. 1. and 2. (quoted by Münscher edit. by von Cölln p. 168, 139.) Comp. Gieseler ii. 4. p. 338. 39.

(8) Even some of those who afterwards espoused the cause of the Reformation, were *zealous advocates* of the doctrine in question, such as *Manuel*, a poet of Berne, who wrote on the occasion of the scandalous affair of Jetzer. Compare his "Lied von der reinen unbefleckten Empfängniss" in the work of *Grüneisen*, Nic. Manuel p. 297 ss., where he also quoted the Fathers as authorities, even Anselm (!) and Thomas Aquinas.

FOURTH SECTION.

CHRISTOLOGY AND SOTERIOLOGY.

§ 179.

THE OPINIONS OF THE GREEK CHURCH RESPECTING CHRISTOLOGY. THE ADOPTION CONTROVERSY IN THE WEST, AND THE HERESY OF NIHILIANISM.

* *Dorner*, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Christologie*, p. 106 ss. *Walch*, *Ch. G. F.*, *historia Adoptianorum*. Gott. 1755-8. *Frobenii Dissertatio historica de hæresi Elipandi et Felicis* (in his edition of the Works of *Alcuini*, T. i. p. 923 ss).

THE Monothelite controversy having at last been brought to a close in the East, no further objections were raised against the ecclesiastical doctrine of *two natures and two wills in one and the same person*. But, in the course of the controversy respecting images, the question, whether it was right to represent Christ in a bodily form, gave rise to a renewed discussion concerning the relation of the divine to the human nature. *John Damascenus*, in particular, endeavoured to reconcile the doctrine of two natures and two wills, with the unity of person, by regarding the divine nature as that which constitutes the person, and by illustrating the mutual relation in which the two natures stand to each other, through the use of the phrases *τρόπος αντιδόσεως*, and *περιχώρησις*.⁽¹⁾ The Greek theologians in general adopted his views.⁽²⁾ The orthodox doctrine was again en-

dangered by the *Adoption* interpretation of the Sonship of Christ, advanced by several Spanish bishops, especially *Elipandus of Toledo*, and *Felix of Urgella*, whom *Alcuin* and others successfully combated. The adoption theory, by making a distinction between an adopted son and a natural one, would have restored Nestorianism, though with some slight modifications.⁽³⁾ *Peter Lombard's* opinion of the Son of God having *not* become *anything* by the assumption of our nature (because no change can take place in the divine nature), was branded with the appellation of the heresy of *Nihilianism*, though he advanced it without any evil intention, and was falsely interpreted, as if Christ had become *nothing*.⁽⁴⁾ *Albert the Great*, and *Thomas Aquinas*, endeavoured to develop the ecclesiastical doctrine of Christology on a philosophical basis.⁽⁵⁾ It had, however, its two aspects: the dialectico-scholastic on the one hand, and the mystical, practico-moral on the other, as its complement. The true mystics, some of whom despised all the subtile reasonings of the schools, while others partly adopted them, regarded Christ, as it were, as the Divine representative, or the restored prototype of humanity.⁽⁶⁾ On the contrary, the false mystics changed the historical Christ into a mere idea.

(1.) Joh. Dam. de fide orth. iii. c. 2, ss. p. 205: οὐ γὰρ προϋποστάση καθ' ἑαυτὴν σαρκὶ ἠνώθη ὁ θεῖος λόγος, ἀλλ'.....αὐτὸς ὁ λόγος, γενόμενος τῇ σαρκὶ ὑπόστασις, ὥστε ἅμα σὰρξ, ἅμα θεοῦ λόγου σὰρξ, ἅμα σὰρξ ἔμψυχος, λογικὴ τε καὶ νοερά· διὸ οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ἀποθεωθέντα λέγομεν, ἀλλὰ θεὸν ἐνανθρωπήσαντα· ὃν γὰρ φύσει τέλειος θεὸς, γέγονε φύσει τέλειος ἄνθρωπος ὁ αὐτὸς, κ. τ. λ. Concerning the terms *τρόπος ἀντιδόσεως* (*communicatio idiomatum*), and *περιχώρησις* (*immetatio*), see ch. 3 and 4, p. 210: καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἀντιδόσεως, ἑκατέρας φύσεως ἀντιδιδούσης τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τὰ ἴδια διὰ τὴν τῆς ὑποστάσεως ταυτότητα, καὶ τὴν εἰς ἄλληλα αὐτῶν περιχώρησιν· κατὰ τοῦτο δυνάμεθα

εἰπεῖν περὶ Χριστοῦ, οὗτος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ᾤφθη καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνανεστράφη· καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος ἄκτιστός ἐστι καὶ ἀπαθὴς καὶ ἀπερίγραπτος. Compare also the subsequent chapters, and Dorner, p. 106, ss.

(²) Thus Nicetas Choniates (Thesaurus, c. 16, quoted by Ullmann, p. 46), and Nicholas of Methone (Refut. p. 155, quoted by Ullmann, p. 84). The latter called, in accordance with the communicatio, the body of Christ *σῶμα θείου*, because, by means of the rational and spiritual soul, it was united to the God Logos, so as to form one person, and was thus deified (*θεουργηθὲν*). Compare Refut. p. 166, Ullmann, l. c. Among the western theologians it was Anselm who adopted these definitions; *cur Deus homo* ii. c. 7.

(³) On the progress of the Adoption controversy see Walch, l. c. *Ketzerhistorie*, vol. ix. p. 667, ss. Gieseler ii. 1, p. 83, ss. Neander, iii. p. 315, ss. On the questions whether Adoptionism had been propounded by earlier theologians? whether the correct reading of Hilary de Trin. ii. 29, is *adoptatur* or *adoratur*? and concerning the *Liturgia Mozarabica*, see Gieseler, l. c. The said notion itself is most distinctly set forth in the *Epist. Episcop. Hispan. ad Episc. Galliæ* (in *Alcuini Opp. T. ii. p. 568*), quoted by Münscher, ed. by von Cölln, p. 81, and Gieseler Nos..... *confitemur et credimus, Deum Dei filium ante omnia tempora sine initio ex Patre genitum—non adoptione sed genere, neque gratia sed natura—pro salute vero humani generis in fine temporis ex illa intima et ineffabili Patris substantia egrediens, et a Patre non recedens, hujus mundi infima petens, ad publicum humani generis apparens, invisibilis visibile corpus adsumens de virgine, ineffabiliter per integra virginalia Matris enixus: secundum traditionem patrum confitemur et credimus, eum factum ex muliere, factum sub lege, non genere esse filium Dei, sed adoptione, neque natura sed gratia, id ipsum eodem Domino attestante, qui ait: "Pater major me est," etc.—Felix (apud Alcuin, contra Felic. lib. iv. c. 2): Secundo autem modo nuncupative Deus dicitur, etc. "This union of the human nature, which is mean in itself, with the Divine, by the elevation of the former in consequence of a Divine judgment, may be called the *unio forensis*, or the *legal union*." Dorner, p. 112. On the comparison which may be drawn between the said elevation, and the *υἰοθεσία* of the*

redeemed, see Baumgarten, Crusius, p. 381. Felix was compelled to retract first at Ratisbon (A. D. 792), and afterwards at Rome; the Synod of Francfort (A. D. 794), also pronounced against Adoptionism. Respecting Alcuini libellus adversus hæresin Felicis ad Abbates et Monachos Gothiæ missus (T. i. p. 759, ss.), and his Epistola ad Felicem, compare Gieseler, p. 87. Alcuin's principal argument was, that the doctrine in question would destroy the *unity* of the Son of God, p. 763: Si igitur Dominus Christus secundum carnem, sicut quidam improba fide garriunt, adoptivus est Filius, nequaquam unus est Filius, quia nullatenus proprius Filius et adoptivus Filius unus esse potest Filius, quia unus verus et alter non verus esse dignoscitur. Quid Dei omnipotentiam sub nostram necessitatem prava temeritate constringere nitimur? Non est nostræ mortalitatis lege ligatus, omnia enim quæcumque vult, Dominus facit in cœlo et in terra. Si autem voluit ex virginali utero proprium sibi creare filium, quis ausus est dicere, eum non posse? etc. Comp. p. 813. At the Synod of Aix la Chapelle (A. D. 790), Felix was induced by Alcuin to abandon his notions, while Elipandus persisted in them. Felix died A. D. 818, but he seems before his death to have returned to his former opinions; see Agobardi liber adversus dogma Felicis Episc. Urgellensis ad Ludov. Pium Imp. *Folmar*, Canon at Traufenstein, who lived in the 12th century, was charged (A. D. 1160) with similar Adoption (Nestorian) errors; see Cramer vii., p. 43. And lastly, Duns Scotus and Durandus a. S. Porciano admitted the use of the phrase filius adoptivus under certain restrictions. Walch, l. c. p. 253, Gieseler, p. 89.

⁽⁴⁾ Concerning the heresy of Nihilianism (Lomb. Sent. Lib. iii. Dist. 5-7. his language is not very definite), see Cramer vol. vii. from the commencement. Dorner p. 121 ss. and Münscher ed. by Von Cölln p. 86. 87. In compliance with an order issued by Pope Alexander III. the phrase, "Deus non factus est aliquid" was examined by the Synod of Tours (A. D. 1163), and rejected. Mansi T. xxii. p. 239. It was also opposed by John Cornubiensis about the year 1175 (Martène Thesaurus T. v. p. 1658 ss.) But it was principally Walter of St Victor, who made it appear that the language of Peter Lombard implied the heretical notion: Deus est nihil secundum quod homo. "*The charge of nihilianism*

is at least in so far unjust, as it represents the denial of existence, in a certain individual form, as an absolute denial. At all events, the attacks made upon Peter Lombard formed a part of the grounds upon which theologians were henceforth more anxious to oppose the separate existence of the human nature of Christ. We meet, at least in the writings of almost all the subsequent scholastics, with some passage or other, in which they urged, in opposition to the phrase 'non aliquid,' used by Peter Lombard, that the human nature of Christ was something definite, and distinct from all other human natures, but existed only in the Divine person, nor could it therefore be called either individual, or person." Dorner p. 122. 23.

(5) Albertus Magn. Compend. theol. Lib. iv. de incarnatione Christi c. 14. and lib. iii. respecting the sentences dist. xiii. quoted by Dorner p. 124. 25. Thomas Aquinas P. iii. Qu. 8. 1. etc. quoted by Dorner p. 126 ss. Comp. Cramer vii. p. 571 ss.

(6) Concerning the mystical mode of interpretation adopted by John Damascenus and others, especially by his supposed disciple, *Theodore Abukara*, see Dorner p. 115 ss. On the connection subsisting between the scholastic definitions and the mystical, comp. *ibid.* The scholastics themselves were compelled to admit that the nature of Christ had a *universal* character, Dorner p. 141. Some of them, *e. g.* *Geroch*, prebendary of *Reichersberg*, protested, as early as the time of the rise of scholasticism, against the refining and hair-splitting tendency which became prevalent in regard to doctrinal definitions (especially in opposition to *Folmar*), see Cramer l. c. p. 43-78. The disciples of the school of *St Victor* looked with an indifferent eye upon the further development of the dogma in question (Dorner p. 142. note). All the mystics urged that Christ is quickened *in us*. Thus *Ruysbroek* said, "Christ had his Divinity and humanity by nature; but we have it when we are united to him in love by grace." Comp. Engelhardt's Monographie, p. 157. and the entire section p. 177-179. *Tauler*, *Predigten*, vol. i. p. 55. expressed himself as follows:—"We hold that we are susceptible of blessedness in the same manner in which *he* is susceptible, and that we receive here on earth a foretaste of that eternal blessedness which we shall enjoy hereafter. Since even the meanest powers and bodily senses of our Lord Jesus Christ are so united to his Divine nature,

that we may say, *God* saw, *God* heard, *God* suffered, we enjoy the advantage that, in consequence of our union with him, all *our* works may be sanctified. Further, human nature being united with the Divine person, and with the angels, all men have more fellowship with him than other creatures, inasmuch as they are the members of his body, and are influenced by him as by their head, etc.....Not many sons! You may and ought to differ [from each other] according to your natural birth, but in the eternal birth there can be only *one* Son, since in God there exists only *one* natural origin, on which account there can be only *one* natural emanation of the Son, not two. *Therefore, if you would be one son with Christ, ye must be an eternal outflowing together with the eternal word.* As truly as God has become man, so truly man has become God by grace; and thus human nature is changed into what it has become, viz., into the Divine image, which is consequently an image of the Father," etc. Compare also the sermon on Christmas-day, vol. i. p. 89. and other passages.—*Deutsche Theologie*, ch. 22: "Where God and man are so united, that we may say in truth, and truth itself must confess, that there is one who is verily perfect God, and verily perfect man, and where man is nevertheless so devoted to God, that God is there man himself, and that he acts and suffers entirely without I, to me and mine [Germ. ohne alles Ich, Mir und Mein], (*i. e.* without any self-will, self-love, and selfishness): behold, *there is verily Christ, and no where else.*" Comp. ch. 24. and ch. 43: *Where the life of Christ is, there is Christ himself, and where his life is not, there he is not it.*^a The language of *Wessel* is simple and dignified; de causa Incarnat. c. 7. p. 427. (quoted by Ullmann p. 267.): "Every generous soul has something Divine in itself, which it loves to communicate. The more excellent it is, the more it endeavours to imitate the Divine Being. Accordingly, that holy and divinely beloved soul (*i. e.* Christ), resembling God more than any other creature, gave itself wholly up to the brethren, inasmuch as it saw God doing the same with regard to itself." Comp. cap. 16. p. 450. and de magnit. passionis c. 82. p. 627: *Qui non ab hoc exemplari trahitur, non est.*

^a Lest this passage might be misinterpreted, so as to refer to a mere ideal Christ, comp. what is said c. 52: "All that is hitherto written, Christ has taught by a long life, which lasted thirty-three years and six months," etc.

On the human development of the Redeemer, see *ibid.* c. 17. p. 486. quoted by Ullmann p. 259.

(7) Thus the Beghards : Dicunt, se credere, quod quilibet homo perfectus sit Christus per naturam. Mosheim p. 256. (according to the letter of the bishop of Strasbourg). The partus virgineus was one of those subjects which greatly occupied the ingenuity of the scholastics. It was at the foundation of the controversy between *Paschasius Radbert* and *Ratramnus*, about the year 850, on the question, whether Mary had given birth to Christ utero clauso? to which the former (after the example of Jerome) replied in the affirmative, the latter (as Helvidius had done) in the negative. For further details, see Münscher ed. by von Cölln p. 85. and 86. and *Walch*, C. G. F. *Historia controversiæ sæculi ix. de partu B. Virginis.* Gott. 1758. 4°. Anselm sought to prove in a very ingenious way, that the birth from the Virgin had become necessary in the circle of divine possibilities: Quatuor modis potest Deus facere hominem; videlicet aut de viro et de femina, sicut assiduus usus monstrat; aut nec de viro nec de femina, sicut creavit Adam; aut de viro sine femina, sicut fecit Evam; aut de femina sine viro, quod nondum fecit. Ut igitur hunc quoque modum probet suæ subjacere potestati, et ad hoc ipsum opus dilatum esse, nihil convenientius, quam ut de femina sine viro assumat illum hominem, quem quærimus. Utrum autem de virgine aut de non virgine dignius hoc fiat, non est opus disputare, sed sine omni dubitatione asserendum est, quia de virgine hominem nasci oportet. In the writings of Robert Pulleyn, we meet with absurd questions respecting the exact moment *at* which, and the manner *in* which, the union of the Divine nature of the Son with the human nature, assumed in the womb of Mary, had taken place (Cramer vi. p. 484 ss.) The fondness of the scholastics for starting all sorts of questions, led them also to inquire whether the union between the Divine and human natures of Christ continued to exist after his death (the separation of the body from the soul). Pulleyn replied in the affirmative. He supposed that only Christ's body had died, but not the whole man Christ; see Cramer vi. p. 487. 88. A controversy was also carried on between the Franciscans and Dominicans respecting the question, whether the blood shed on the cross had been also separated from the Divine nature of Christ? A violent discussion

took place in Rome at Christmas 1462. The Dominicans took the affirmative, the Franciscans the negative side of the question. At last Pope Pius II. prohibited the progress of the controversy by a bull, issued A. D. 1464; see Gobellin. Comment. Pii ii. Rom. 1584. p. 511... Fleury, hist. ecclesiast. xxiii. p. 167 ss.

§ 180.

REDEMPTION AND ATONEMENT.

* *Baur*, Geschichte der Versöhnungslehre, p. 118 ss. *Seisen*, Nicolaus Methonensis, Anselmus Cantuariensis, Hugo Grotius, quod ad satisfactionis doctrinam a singulis excogitatum inter se comparati. Heidelberg, 1838-4.

THE mythical notion developed in the preceding period of the legal transaction with the devil, and the deception practised upon him on the part of God and Christ, was also adopted by some theologians of the present period, *e. g.* John Damascenus.⁽¹⁾ But soon after it gave way, or at least became subordinate to another more scientific mode of viewing, according to which the plan of redemption was enforced with logical necessity from certain divine and human relations. We find the first traces of it in the Greek Church in the writings of *Nicholas of Methone*,⁽²⁾ who arrived at similar conclusions with Anselm, though independently of him. In the western Church, *Anselm of Canterbury* established the following doctrine with an amount of ingenuity, and a completeness of reasoning, hitherto unattained. In order to restore the honour of which God had been deprived by sin, it was necessary that he should become man; that, by voluntary submission to the penalty of death, he might thus, as God-man, cancel the debt, which, beside him, no other being, whether a heavenly one or an earthly one, could have paid. But he not

only satisfied the requirements of Divine justice, but, by so doing, of his own free will, he did more than was needed, and was rewarded by obtaining the deliverance of man from the penalty pronounced upon him. Thus the apparent contradiction between Divine love on the one hand, and Divine justice and benevolence on the other, was removed.

(¹) De fide orth. iii. 1. : αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ δημιουργὸς τε καὶ κύριος τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ οἰκείου πλάσματος ἀναδέχεται πάλιν, καὶ ἔργῳ διδάσκαλος γίνεται. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ θεότητος ἐλπίδι ὁ ἐχθρὸς δελεάζει τὸν ἄνθρωπον, σαρκὸς προβλήματι δελεάζεται καὶ δείκνυται ἅμα τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ σοφὸν, τὸ δίκαιόν τε καὶ τὸ δυνατὸν τοῦ θεοῦ· τὸ μὲν ἀγαθὸν, ὅτι οὐ παρέϊδε τοῦ οἰκείου πλάσματος τὴν ἀσθένειαν, ἀλλ' ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐπ' αὐτῷ πεσόντι καὶ χεῖρα ὤρεξε· τὸ δὲ δίκαιον, ὅτι ἀνθρώπου ἠττηθέντος οὐχ ἕτερον ποιεῖ νικῆσαι τὸν τύραννον, οὐδὲ βιά ἐξαρπάζει τοῦ θανάτου τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' ὅν πάλαι διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας καταδουλοῦται ὁ θάνατος, τοῦτον ὁ ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος νικητὴν πάλιν πεποίηκε, καὶ τῷ ὁμοίῳ τὸν ὁμοίον ἀνεσώσατο, ὅπερ ἄπορον ἦν· τὸ δὲ σοφὸν, ὅτι εὗρε τοῦ ἀπόρου λύσιν εὐπρεπεστάτην. He opposed, indeed, the notion (of Gregory of Nyssa), that the devil had received the ransom, iii. 27 : μὴ γὰρ γένοιτο τῷ τυράννῳ τὸ τοῦ δεσπότητος προσενεχθῆναι αἷμα, but used very strange language in the subsequent part of the chapter : πρόστεισι τοιγαροῦν ὁ θάνατος καὶ καταπιὼν τὸ σῶμα δέλεαρ τῷ τῆς θεότητος ἀγκίστρῳ περιπίρεται, καὶ ἀναμαρτήτου καὶ ζωοποίου γευσάμενος σώματος διαφθείρεται καὶ πάντας ἀνάγει, οὓς πάλαι κατέπιεν.

(²) Anecd. i. p. 25. ms. fol. 148 b., quoted by Seisen, p. i., *ibid.* p. 30, ss. fol. 150 b., quoted by Seisen, p. 2 : ἦν γὰρ θανάτῳ ὑπεύθυνον τὸ πᾶν ἡμῶν γένος· πάντες γὰρ ἡμαρτον, κέντρον δὲ τοῦ θανάτου ἐστὶν ἡ ἀμαρτία (1 Cor. xv. 56), δι' ἧς τρώσας ἡμᾶς ὁ θάνατος καταβέβληκε, καὶ ἄλλως οὐκ ἦν τῶν δεσμῶν τῆς δουλείας ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοὺς δόρατι ληφθέντας, ἢ διὰ θανάτου (Rom. v. 14). Τὰ γὰρ λύτρα ἐν τῇ αἵρέσει κείται τῶν κατεχόντων. Οὐκ ἦν οὖν ὁ δυνάμενος ὑπελθεῖν τὸ δράμα καὶ ἐξαγορᾶσαι τὸ γένος, οὐκ ἦν οὐδεὶς τῶν τοῦ γένους ἐλεύθερος· μόγις δὲ τῆς ἰδίας ἐνοχῆς

ἐλευθεροῦνται τις, ὃς ἑαυτοῦ ἀποθνήσκων οὐ δυνάμενος συνελευθερωῶσαι ἓνα γοῦν ἑαυτῷ. Εἰ δὲ οὐδένα, τίς ἦν δυνατὸς, ὅλον κοσμον ἀπαλλάξαι δουλείας; εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἀξιόχρεως ἦν πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἐλευθερίαν ἕκαστος· ἀλλ' οὖν οὐκ ἦν πρέπον, πάντα ἀποθανεῖν, οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ θανάτου ἐξουσίαν καταμεῖναι. Τίνος οὖν ἦν τὸ κατόρθωμα; δῆλον ὅτι ἀναμαρτήτου τινός. Τίς δὲ τῶν πάντων ἀναμάρτητος ἢ μόνος ὁ θεός; ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν καὶ θεοῦ τὸ ἔργον ἦν καὶ χωρὶς θανάτου καὶ τῶν ἡγήσαμένων τοῦ θανάτου παθῶν ἀδύνατον ἦν τελεσθῆναι, ὁ θεὸς δὲ παθῶν καὶ θανάτου ἐστὶν ἀπαράδεκτος, προσέλαβε φύσιν παθῶν καὶ θανάτου δεκτικὴν, ὁμοουσίαν ἡμῖν ὑπάρχουσαν κατὰ πάντα καὶ ἀπαραλλάκτως ἔχουσαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὅμου λαβὴν διδοὺς τῷ προστπαλαίοντι θανάτῳ κατὰ σάρκα, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς τῆς ὑποκειμένης αὐτῷ φύσεως καταγωνιούμενος αὐτὸν, ἵνα μήτε αὐτὸς χώραν σχοίῃ λέγειν, οὐχ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἠττήσθαι, μήτε μὴν ἡμεῖς καταμαλακιζοίμεθα πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας· καιροῦ καλοῦντος ἔχοντες παράδειγμα τὴν ὁμοφυῆ καὶ ὁμοούσιον σάρκα, ἐν ἣ κατεκρίθη ἡ ἁμαρτία, χώραν οὐδόλως εὔρουσα ἐν αὐτῇ. . . . Οὐ γὰρ μάτην τι γέγονε τῶν περὶ τὸ τίμιον αὐτοῦ πάθος συμβεβηκότων, ἀλλὰ λόγῳ τινὶ κρείττονι καὶ ἀναγκαίῳ, πᾶσαν λόγων δύναμιν ὑπερβάλλοντι. Comp. Refut. p. 155, ss., quoted by Seisen p. 4, and Ullmann, p. 90 ss. “*He agreed (with Anselm) principally in endeavouring to demonstrate that the Redeemer must needs have been God and man, but differed from him in this, that Anselm referred the necessity of the death of Jesus to the Divine holiness, while Nicholas brought it into connection with the dominion of Satan over sinful men.*” Ullmann, p. 94.

(3) “*The relation in which Anselm’s theory of satisfaction stands to the notions which had generally obtained previous to his time, is chiefly expressed by his decided opposition to the principle on which those notions were founded, in respect to the devil.*”^a Baur, *Versöhnungslehre* p. 155. *Cur Deus homo* i.

^a It is somewhat interesting to observe, that as the doctrines of the Church were gradually developed in the lapse of ages, the kingdom of Satan was more and more put into the background, as the shadows disappear before the light. During the first period, up to the complete overthrow of Manichæism, the demons occupied an important place in the doctrines respecting God and the government of the world, as well as in anthropology, until Augustine (in the second period) proved that the origin of sin is to be found

7. and ii. 19: Diabolo nec Deus aliquid debebat nisi pœnam, nec homo, nisi vicem, ut ab illo victus illum revinceret; sed quidquid ab illo exigebatur, hoc Deo debebat, non diabolo. The theory of Anselm is rather established upon the idea of *sin* (comp. § 176. note 4.) It is the duty of man to honour God; by sin he has deprived him of the honour due to him, and is obliged to make retribution for it in a striking manner, i. 11: Hunc honorem debitum qui Deo non reddit, aufert Deo quod suum est et Deum exhonorat, et hoc est peccare. Quamdiu autem non solvit, quod rapuit, manet in culpa; nec sufficit solummodo reddere, quod ablatum est, *sed pro contumelia illata plus debet reddere, quam abstulit.* Com. also c. 13: Necesse est ergo, ut aut ablatum honor solvatur, aut pœna sequatur, alioquin aut sibi ipsi Deus justus non erit, aut ad utrumque impotens erit, quod nefas est vel cogitare. It may be true that God cannot, properly speaking (*i. e.* objectively), be deprived of his honour, but he must insist upon its demands, for the sake of his creatures; the order and harmony of the universe require it, i. c. 14: Deum impossibile est honorem suum perdere, c. 15: Dei honori nequit aliquid, quantum ad illum pertinet, addi vel minui. Idem namque ipse sibi honor est incorruptibilis et nullo modo mutabilis. Verum quando unaquæque creatura suum et quasi sibi præceptum ordinem sive naturaliter sive rationabiliter servat, Deo obedire et eum dicitur honorare; et hoc maxime rationalis natura, cui datum est intelligere quid debeat. Quæ cum vult quod debet, Deum honorat; non quia illi aliquid confert, sed quia sponte se ejus voluntati et dispositioni subdit, et in rerum universitate ordinem suum et ejusdem universitatis pulchritudinem, quantum in ipsa est, servat. Cum vero non vult quod debet, Deum, quantum ad illam pertinet, inhonorat, quoniam non subdit se sponte illius dispositioni, et universitatis ordinem et pulchritudinem, quantum in se est, perturbat, licet potestatem aut dignitatem Dei nullatenus lædat aut decoloret. (With this the idea is connected, that the deficiency in the hierarchia cœlestis, occasioned by the fall of the angels, was made up by

in man himself. And lastly, in the course of the present period, the connection between the doctrines of Christology and Soteriology on the one hand, and the doctrine of diabolical agency on the other, being dissolved, the latter is pushed back to eschatology, where the devil finds his proper place in hell.

the creation of man, c. 16. Comp. vol. i. p. 495.) From the reasons referred to, it would be unworthy of God to pardon the sinner, merely by making use of his supreme authority. I. c. 6. and c. 12: Non decet Deum peccatum sic impunitum dimittere.... In that case, injustice would be more privileged than justice. (Liberior est injustitia, si sola misericordia dimittitur, quam justitia.) Comp. c. 19. But man cannot make satisfaction, inasmuch as he is corrupt by original sin (i. c. 23: quia peccator peccatorem justificare nequit); nevertheless it was necessary that satisfaction should be given by *a human being*, i. c. 3: Oportebat namque ut sicut per hominis inobedientiam mors in humanum genus intraverat, ita per hominis obedientiam vita restitueretur, et quemadmodum peccatum, quod fuit causa nostræ damnationis, initium habuit a femina, sic nostræ justitiæ et salutis auctor nasceretur de femina, et ut diabolus, qui per gustum ligni, quem persuasit, hominem vicerat, ita per passionem ligni, quam intulit, ab homine vinceretur. But could not God have created a sinless man? Be it so; but then the redeemed would have come under the dominion of him who had redeemed them, *i. e.* under the dominion of a man, who would himself be nothing but a servant of God, to whom angels could not be expected to render obedience (i. c. 5.) And besides, man himself owes obedience to God, i. c. 20: In obedientia vero quid das Deo, quod non debes, cui jubenti totum, quod es et quod habes et quod potes, debes?..... Si me ipsum et quidquid possum, etiam quando non pecco, illi debeo, ne peccem, nihil habeo, quod pro peccato illi reddam.—Nor could any higher being (*e. g.* an angel) take upon him the work of redemption, for so much is sure: Illum, qui de suo poterit Deo dare aliquid, quod superet omne quod sub Deo est, majorem esse necesse est, quam omne quod non est Deus..... Nihil autem est supra omne quod Deus non est, nisi Deus..... Non ergo potest hanc satisfactionem facere nisi Deus (ii. c. 6.) If therefore none can make satisfaction but God himself, and if it be nevertheless necessary that a man should make it, nothing remains but that—the *Godman* should undertake it; *ibid.*: Si ergo, sicut constat, necesse est, ut de hominibus perficiatur illa superna civitas, nec hoc esse valet nisi fiat prædicta satisfactio, quam nec potest facere nisi Deus, nec debet nisi homo: necesse est, ut eam faciat *Deus homo*. It is,

moreover, necessary that the Godman should be of the race of Adam, and born of a virgin (c. 8. comp. § 179.); and concerning the three persons of the Trinity, it appears most seemly that the Son should assume humanity (ii. c. 9. comp. vol. i. p. 478.) In order to make satisfaction for man, he had to give something to God which he did not owe to him, but which, at the same time, was of more value than all that is under God. Concerning obedience, he owed it to God, like every other rational creature; but he was not obliged to die (c. 10. 11.) Nevertheless, he was willing to lay down his life of his own accord, *ibid.*: *Video, hominem illum plane, quem quærimus, talem esse oportere, qui nec ex necessitate moriatur, quoniam erit omnipotens, nec ex debito, quia nunquam peccator erit, et mori possit ex libera voluntate, quia necessarium erit; for death is the greatest sacrifice which man can offer, ibid.: nihil asperius, aut difficilius potest homo ad honorem Dei sponte et non ex debito pati, quam mortem, et nullatenus se ipsum potest homo magis dare Deo, quam cum se morti tradit ad honorem illius. But it was just by being voluntary that the act in question was of such infinite value; for his death outweighs all sins, however numerous or great, c. 14. A.: Cogita etiam, quia peccata tantum sunt odibilia, quantum sunt mala, et vita ista tantum amabilis est, quantum est bona. Unde sequitur, quia vita ista plus est amabilis, quam sint peccata odibilia. B. Non possum hoc non intelligere. A. Putasne tantum bonum tam amabile posse sufficere ad solvendum, quod debetur pro peccatis totius mundi? B. Imo plus potest in infinitum. (On this account Christ's atonement has also a reacting influence upon our first parents, c. 16. and upon Mary herself, *ibid.* and c. 17. comp. § 178. note 2.) But the present, thus voluntarily offered, could not but be returned. As the Son, however, already possessed what the Father possesses, the reward due to him must turn to the advantage of others, viz. men (ii. 19.) Thus the love and the justice of God may be reconciled with each other, c. 20: *Misericordiam vero Dei, quæ tibi perire videbatur, cum justitiam Dei et peccatum hominis considerabamus, tam magnam tamque concordem justitiæ invenimus, ut nec major nec justior cogitari possit. Nempe quid misericordius intelligi valet, quam cum peccatori tormentis æternis damnato, et unde se redimat non habenti, Deus**

pater dicit: accipe Unigenitum meum, et da pro te, et ipse Filius: tolle me, et redime te?.....Quid etiam justius, quam ut ille, cui datur pretium majus omni debito, si debito datur affectu, dimittat omne debitum? And lastly, we should not pass by his caution at the close of his treatise (c. 22.): Si quid diximus, quod corrigendum sit, non renuo correctionem, si rationabiliter sit. Si autem testimonio veritatis roboratur, quod nos rationabiliter invenisse existimamus, Deo, non nobis attribuere debemus, qui est benedictus in sæcula. Amen.

Notwithstanding all its appearance of logical consequence, the theory of Anselm is first open to the charge of an internal contradiction. For though Anselm himself admitted, that God could not be deprived of his honour objectively, he nevertheless founded his argument upon this objective fact, and made it necessary that, after all the love and compassion of God should come in, accept the satisfaction made by another being, and for his sake remit the punishment due to actual transgressors. Comp. Baur p. 168-179. Secondly, The subjective (moral) aspect is put too much into the background by the objective (legal) one, and there remains little more of it than a minimum (comp. however ii. c. 18.) The reconciliation spoken of is rather one made on the part of God with men, than a reconciliation of men with God; see Baur p. 181. Ullmann (Nicholas of Methone p. 93.) We should, however, be careful not to confound the theory of Anselm with its developements by later Protestant theologians. On the question, whether the satisfaction referred to by Anselm is, properly speaking, *not so much a suffering of punishment, as merely an active rendering of obedience?* inasmuch as he makes a difference between punishment and satisfaction (i. 15. necesse est, ut omne peccatum satisfactio aut poena sequatur), see Baur p. 183 ss. Nevertheless, it is certain, that the satisfaction made by Christ, in the view of Anselm, consisted, if not exclusively, at least principally, in submitting to sufferings and death; it cannot, therefore, be said with Baur, "that the idea of a punishment, by which satisfaction is made, and which is suffered in the room of another, does not occur in the scheme of Anselm." On the other hand, it must be admitted that Anselm rests contented with the idea of suffering death: in his writings nothing is said of the Redeemer being under the burden of the *Divine wrath*, of his taking upon him the torments of hell, or what is called the anguish of the soul, etc. The chaste and noble, tragical style in which the subject in question is discussed, forms a striking contrast with the weak and whining, even sensuous theology of later ages.—Respecting the relation in which Anselm's theory stood to the doctrine of earlier times, see Baur p. 186 ss.

§ 181.

FURTHER DEVELOPEMENT OF THE DOCTRINE OF REDEMPTION
AND ATONEMENT.

The contemporaries and first successors of Anselm were far from adopting his theory in all its strictness.⁽¹⁾ On the contrary, *Abelard*, taking in this case, as well as in many others, the opposite side of the question, attached principal importance to the moral aspect of the doctrine referred to, and declared the love of Christ the redeeming principle, inasmuch as it calls forth love on our part.⁽²⁾ *Bernard of Clairval*, on the other hand, developed rather the mystical idea of the death of Christ as a substitute.⁽³⁾ *Hugo of St Victor* adhered more nearly to the doctrine of Anselm, but modified it so far, as he returned to the earlier notion of a legal transaction with the devil; at the same time he asserted (with Abelard) the moral significance of Christ's death,⁽⁴⁾ while the opinions of *Robert Pulleyn* and *Peter Lombard* were still more closely allied to those of Abelard.⁽⁵⁾ The later scholastics returned to the doctrine of Anselm, and developed it more fully.⁽⁶⁾ Thus *Thomas Aquinas* brought the priestly office of Christ prominently forward, and laid great stress upon the superabounding merit of his death.⁽⁷⁾ *Duns Scotus* went so far as to proceed to the other extreme, and to deny its sufficiency;⁽⁸⁾ but he supposed a voluntary acceptance on the part of God. *Wycliffe* and *Wessel* attached importance to the theory of satisfaction in its practical bearing upon evangelical piety, and thus introduced the period of the Reformation.⁽⁹⁾ The mystics either renounced all claims to doctrinal precision, and, abandoning themselves to the impulses of feeling and imagina-

tion, endeavoured to fathom the depth of the love manifested on the cross; or they thought to find the true principle of redemption in the repetition of the sacrifice once made by Christ on themselves, *i. e.*, in crucifying their own flesh.⁽¹⁰⁾ Those among them who were pantheists, destroyed all that was peculiar in the merits of Christ,⁽¹¹⁾ while the external and mythical interpretation of the doctrine in question, as a legal transaction on the part of the orthodox mystics, led to lamentable extravagances.⁽¹²⁾

(1) “*If we must, on the one hand, acknowledge that Anselm’s theory of satisfaction is a fine specimen of the dialectico-speculative acuteness of the scholastics, it must appear to us strange, on the other, that he was left alone to hold it, and does not seem to have convinced any of his successors that his principle was necessarily the right one, Baur, Versöhnungslehre p. 189.*”

(2) Abelard opposed, like Anselm, but still more decidedly, the introduction of the devil into the plan of redemption. Comment. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. ii. Opp. p. 550. quoted by Münscher, edit. by von Cölln p. 163. Baur p. 191. The proper reason of the reconciliation was stated by him to be as follows (p. 553. quoted by Baur p. 194): *Nobis autem videtur, quod in hoc justificati sumus in sanguine Christi et Deo reconciliati, quod per hanc singularem gratiam nobis exhibitam, quod filius suus nostram suscepit naturam, et in ipso nos tam verbo, quam exemplo instituendo usque ad mortem perstitit, nos sibi amplius per amorem astrixit, ut tanto divinæ gratiæ accensi beneficio, nil jam tolerare propter ipsum vera reformidet caritas. . . . Redemptio itaque nostra est illa summa in nobis per passionem Christi dilectio, quæ nos (leg. non) solum a servitute peccati liberat, sed veram nobis filiorum Dei libertatem acquirit, ut amore ejus potius quam timore cuncta impleamus, qui nobis tantam exhibuit gratiam, quæ major inveniri, ipso attestante, non potest.* “*Thus the two representatives of scholasticism, which, in its first period, developed itself in all its youthful vigour, Anselm and Abelard, were directly opposed to each other, with respect to the doctrines of redemption and atonement. The one considered the last cause of it to be the*

Divine justice, which requires an infinite equivalent for the infinite guilt of sin; the other held it to be the free grace of God, which, by kindling love in the breast of man, blots out sin, and with sin, its guilt," Baur, *Versöhnungslehre* p. 195. On the endeavours of Abelard, notwithstanding his other views to represent redemption in its legal aspect, see *ibidem*.

(³) Bernard opposed Abelard, in the first place, on the ground that the devil has no legal claims upon man, see *Epist.* 190. *de erroribus Abælardi ad Innocentem III.* quoted by Münscher edit. by von Cölln p. 164. Baur, *Versöhnungsl.* p. 202. He made a distinction between *jus acquisitum* and *jus nequiter usurpatum, juste tamen permissum*. He ascribed the latter to the devil. *Sic itaque homo justè captivus tenebatur: ut tamen nec in homine, nec in diabolo illa esset justitia, sed in Deo.* Bernard, moreover, urged especially the fact, that Christ, as the head, had made satisfaction for the members—*satisfecit caput pro membris, Christus pro visceribus suis*; see Baur p. 202. 3. Bernard's views were most nearly allied to those of Augustine and Gregory the Great.

(⁴) In the system of Hugo, God appeared as the patronus of man, and the opponent of the devil. But, first of all, it was necessary to conciliate his favour. This idea is largely dwelt upon in the *dialogus de sacramentis legis naturalis et scriptæ*. *De sacram. c. 4.:* *Dedit Deus gratis homini, quod homo ex debito Deo redderet. Dedit igitur homini hominem, quem homo pro homine redderet, qui, ut digna recompensatio fieret, priori non solum æqualis, sed major esset. Ut ergo pro homine redderetur homo major homine, factus est Deus homo pro homine—Christus ergo nascendo debitum hominis patri solvit et moriendo reatum hominis expiavit, ut, cum ipse pro homine mortem, quam non debebat, sustineret, juste homo propter ipsum, mortem, quam debebat, evaderet, et jam locum calumniandi diabolus non inveniret, quia et ipse homini dominari non debuit, et homo liberari dignus fuit.*—The following extract is written rather in the spirit of Abelard *c. 10.:*.....*Ut in Deo humanitas glorificata exemplum esset glorificationis hominibus; ut in eo, qui passus est, videant, quid ei retribuere debeant, in eo autem, qui glorificatus est, considerent, quid ab eo debeant expectare; ut et ipse sit via in exemplo et veritas in promisso et vita in præmio.* *Comp. Liebner, Hugo von St Victor p. 417 ss. Baur, Versöhnungsl. 206. 8.*

(⁵) Concerning Pulleyn, who, in other respects, was praised by Bernard on account of his orthodoxy, see Cramer vol. vi. p. 490 ss. Baur p. 205. Peter Lombard, more than any of the other scholastics, regarded the subject in question from the psychologico-moral point of view; see Baur p. 209. Sent. Lib. iii. Dist. 19. A.: Quomodo a peccatis per ejus mortem soluti sumus? Quia per ejus mortem, ut ait Apostolus, commendatur nobis caritas Dei, *i. e.* apparet eximia et commendabilis caritas Dei erga nos in hoc, quod filium suum tradidit in mortem pro nobis peccatoribus. Exhibita autem tantæ erga nos dilectionis arrha et nos movemur accendimurque ad diligendum Deum, qui pro nobis tanta fecit, et per hoc *justificamur*, *i. e.* soluti a peccatis *justi efficiamur*. Mors ergo Christi nos justificat, dum per eam caritas excitatur in cordibus nostris.—Peter Lombard decidedly opposed the notion, that God had, as it were, altered his views respecting the sinner, in consequence of the death of Christ, *ibid.* F.: Reconciliati sumus Deo, ut ait apostolus, per mortem Christi. Quod non sic intelligendum est, quasi nos ei sic reconciliaverit Christus, ut inciperet amare quos oderat, sicut reconciliatur inimicus inimico, ut deinde sint amici, qui ante se oderant, sed jam nos diligenti Deo reconciliati sumus. Non enim ex quo ei reconciliati sumus per sanguinem filii, nos cœpit diligere, sed ante mundum, priusquam nos aliquid essemus.—Nevertheless he also admitted the doctrine of substitution, though he expressed himself respecting it in very general terms (as did Bernard of Clairval) l. c. D.: Non enim sufficeret illa pœna, qua pœnitentes ligat ecclesia, nisi pœna Christi cooperaretur, qui pro nobis solvit (Baur p. 213.) And lastly, the devil occupied a very strange position in the system of Peter Lombard. (Quid fecit redemptor captivatori nostro? tetendit ei muscipulam crucem suam: posuit ibi quasi escam sanguinem suum.) Baur p. 211. comp. also p. 79.

(⁶) Thus Alanus ab Insulis iii. (quoted by Pez T. i. p. 493–97), Albert Magnus (Sent. Lib. iii. Dist. 20. Art. 7.) Alexander Hales (Summæ P. iii. Qu. 1. Membr. 4 ss. see Cramer vii. p. 574 ss. Baur, p. 215 note.) Bonaventura (Opp. T. v. p. 191 ss. *ibid.* p. 218. ss.)

(⁷) Summac Pars iii. Qu. 22 (de sacerdotio Christi), quoted by Münscher edit. by von Cölln, p. 166. His theory of satisfaction will be found *ibid.* Qu. 46–49. Baur, Versöhnungsl, p. 230, ss.

He discussed especially the necessity of suffering, and the question, Whether God could have redeemed man in any other way? and replied to it both in the affirmative and negative, according to the idea formed of necessity. (Art. 2. Baur p. 232.) At all events, the sufferings of Christ were the most proper way, and the one most to the purpose. It was also significant that Christ suffered on the *cross*, which reminds us not only of the tree in Paradise, but also of this, that the cross is a symbol of various virtues, as well as of that breadth, and length, and depth, and height of which the apostle spoke (Eph. iii. 18), of our exaltation into heaven, etc. While Anselm did not go beyond the simple fact of Christ's death, Aquinas endeavoured to demonstrate, that Christ had endured in his head, hands, and feet, *all the sufferings* which men have to endure in their reputation, worldly possessions, body and soul; accordingly, *the pain of the sufferings of Christ is by far the greatest* which can be endured in the present life (in proof of which he adduced several arguments). Nevertheless *his soul possessed the uninterrupted enjoyment of blessedness*, Art. 8, (but Thomas Aquinas himself did not as yet speak of the torments of hell which the soul had to endure, or the eternal wrath which it had to bear, though he thereby left the sufferings incomplete). He further propounded (like Bernard of Clairval) the mystical idea, according to which the head suffers for the members (Quæst. 48, Art. 1.): *Christus per suam passionem non solum sibi, sed etiam omnibus membris suis meruit salutem. Passio non est meritoria, inquantum habet principium ab exteriori; sed secundum quod eam aliquis voluntarie sustinet, sic habet principium ab interiori, et hoc modo est meritoria.* Thomas made use of the same mystical idea to refute the objection that one being would not have made satisfaction in the room of another; for, inasmuch as two are made one through love, the one may make satisfaction for the other. Concerning the meritum superabundans, Qu. 48, Art. 2: *Christus autem ex charitate et obedientia patiundo, majus aliquid Deo exhibuit, quam exigeret recompensatio totius offensæ humani generis: primo quidem propter magnitudinem charitatis, ex qua patiebatur; secundo propter dignitatem vitæ suæ quam pro satisfactione ponebat, quæ erat vita Dei et hominis; tertio propter generalitatem passionis et magnitudinem doloris assumti . . . et ideo passio Christi*

non solum sufficiens, sed etiam superabundans satisfactio fuit pro peccatis humani generis (1 John ii. 2). Respecting further definitions see Baur, *Versöhnungslehre*, and Münscher, edit. by von Cölln, p. 167.

(8) Duns Scotus in Sent, L. iii. dist. 19 : . . . Quantum vero attinget ad meriti sufficientiam, fuit profecto illud finitum, quia causa ejus finita fuit, videlicet voluntas naturæ assumptæ, et summa gloria illi collata. Non enim Christus quatenus Deus meruit, sed in quantum homo. Proinde si exquiras, quantum valuerit Christi meritum secundum sufficientiam, valuit procul dubio quantum fuit a Deo acceptatum. Siquidem divina acceptatio est potissima causa et ratio omnis meriti: . . . Tantum valuit Christi meritum sufficienter, quantum potuit et voluit, ipsum Trinitas acceptare, etc. Thus he destroyed the principal argument of Anselm's theory in his: *Cur Deus homo?* for, since Christ has suffered only in his human nature, an angel, or any other man, might have suffered quite as well, as Duns Scotus was fully prepared to admit. Comp. Baur, p. 256. On this account the sufferings of Christ appeared still less necessary to Scotus than to Thomas Aquinas. Both their systems are compared by Baur, *Versöhnungsl.* p. 257-58. Bonaventura occupied an intermediate position between the two former, by teaching a *perfectio et plenitudo meriti Christi*. Brev. iv. c. 7, Cent. iii. sect. 30.

(9) *Wycliffe*. Trialogus iii. c. 25 (de incarnatione et morte Christi), quoted by Baur p. 273. He laid, however, quite as much stress upon repentance as upon the theory of satisfaction. According to *Wessel*, Christ was our Redeemer, even *by representing in himself the Divine life* (an idea which had almost wholly sunk into oblivion since the time of Anselm.) Nevertheless he was also Mediator; yea, he was God, priest, and sacrifice, at the same time. We perceive in him both that God who was reconciled, and the one who brought about that reconciliation. Comp. de magnitud. passionis, c. 17, and *Exempla scalæ meditationis*, Ex. iii. p. 391, quoted by Ullmann p. 261, Baur p. 277. "*Wessel, too, considered the sufferings of our Lord as being made by a substitute, but going beyond the mere legal transaction, he asserted the necessity of a living faith, and the appropriation of the Spirit of Christ.*" Ullmann p. 264. He attached, therefore (as did Abelard and Peter Lombard), great

importance to the principle of love. He who would form a correct estimate of the full measure of the sufferings of Christ, must come to them, above all, with an eye exercised in love, de magnit. passionis, p. 19. Further passages may be seen in the works of Ullmann and Baur.

⁽¹⁰⁾ The sentimental perception of the sufferings of Christ, and expressions such as “*the blood of Jesus, full of love, and red like a rose*” (e. g., in the writings of Suso), may, indeed, be traced to mysticism. But the true mystics did not rest satisfied with this. Thus, the author of the work entitled “*Dentsche Theologie*,” c. 3, after having proved that God had assumed humanity in order to remove the effects of the fall, thus continues: “*Though God were to take to himself all men who exist, and to assume their nature, and manifest himself in them, yet, if the same did not take place with regard to myself, the effects of my fall and rebellion would never be destroyed. In more distinct reference to the design of the sufferings of Christ, Tauler said (in a sermon on Luke x. 23, quoted by Wackernagel, Lesebuch i. sp. 868): “Since your great God was thus set at nought, and condemned by his creatures, and was crucified and died, you should, with patient endurance, and with all suffering humility, behold yourselves in his sufferings, and have your minds thereby impressed.” Compare also his Sermons, i. p. 289 (Sermon on Good Friday). Bishop Master Albrecht said: “Four-and-twenty hours compose day and night; take one of the hours and divide it into two, and spend it in contemplating the sufferings of our Lord—that which is better and more useful to man than if all men, and all the saints, and all the angels of God, and Mary, the mother of God, would remember him [i. e., would intercede for him.] As man dies a bodily death, so he dies unto all sin, by serious meditation on the sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ.” (Sprüche deutscher Mystiker in Wackernagel’s Lesebuch, sp. 889.) But not only did the mystics urge the necessity of recalling the sufferings of Christ by inward contemplation, but the same idea was also externally represented by the self-inflicted torments of ascetics, especially of the Flagellantes of the middle ages. In the latter case it must, however, be admitted, that as the spirit of self-righteousness was called forth, the merits of Christ were thrown into the shade. Thus, it is said, in one of*

the hymns of the Flagellantes (A.D. 1349): "Through God *we* shed our blood, on account of which our sins will be pardoned." (Hoffmann, *Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes*, p. 94.)

⁽¹¹⁾ The Beghards taught: *Christus non est passus pro nobis, sed pro se ipso*. Mosheim, p. 256. Amalrich of Bena maintained, that by all Christians being members of Christ, we are to understand, that, as such, they had participated in the sufferings of Christ on the cross. (Engelhardt, p. 253.) Thus he inverted the doctrine according to which the head died for the members (that of Bernard of Clairval, and Thomas Aquinas.)

⁽¹²⁾ Jacob of Theramo, who lived in the fifteenth century, treated the transaction between Christ and the devil as a farce, under the title, *Belial*. See Baur, p. 80, and Döderlein, *dissertationes inaugurales* (1774-75) in *opusc. acad. Jen.* 1789. Compare a similar play: *Extractio animarum ab inferno in the English Miracle-Plays or Mysteries*, by W. Marriott. Bar. 1838, p. 161.

§ 182.

ON THE CONNECTION BETWEEN SOTERIOLOGY AND CHRISTOLOGY.

In the theory of Anselm, so much importance was attached to the incarnation and death of Jesus, as the foundation of the work of redemption, that fears might have been entertained, lest the eventful life of the Redeemer which lies between the two, should lose its religious significance. There were, however, those who again turned the attention of man to the life of the Godman, as forming itself a part of the atonement.⁽¹⁾ Some, indeed, made it appear that Christ had only come into the world in order to die, and that consequently he would not have been sent at all if no atonement for sin had been necessary. On the other hand, there were not wanting others, *e. g.*, *Wessel*, who

pointed out in various ways the significance which the manifestation of God in the flesh must have, independently of sin and its effects, as the perfection of creation, and crown of humanity.⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ See Wessel in the preceding §, note 9.

⁽²⁾ Comp. vol. i. p. 163. “*The question, whether Christ would have assumed the nature of man if there had been no sin, was not discussed until the middle ages, being started, as it appears, for the first time by Rupertus Abbas Tuitiensis, S. 12.*” Dorner, p. 134. The language of Thomas Aquinas sufficiently shews that he too felt disposed to look upon the incarnation of Christ as being in one respect the perfection of creation. In his Comment. on the Sent. Lib. iii. Dist. 1. Qu. 1. Art. 3. he said, that the incarnatio had not only effected the deliverance from sin, but also humanæ naturæ exaltationem et totius universi consummationem. Comp. Summæ, P. iii. Qu. 1. Art. 3. : ad omnipotentiam divinæ virtutis pertinet, ut opera sua perficiat et se manifestet per aliquem infinitum effectum, cum sit finita per suam essentiam. Nevertheless, he thought it more probable (according to P. iii. Qu. 1. 3.) that Christ would not have become man if there had been no sin. This notion obtained generally, and theologians preferred praising (after the example of Augustine) sin itself as *felix culpa* (thus Richard of St Victor de incarnat. verbi. c. 8), to admitting the possibility of the manifestation of the Son of God apart from any connection with it. Duns Scotus, however, felt inclined rather to adopt the latter view, which was more in accordance with his entire Pelagian tendency,^a Lib. iii. Sent. Dist. vii. Qu. 3.

^a This was done in later times by the Socinians. Nevertheless, the theory in question may be so strained, “*that sin is made light of, and mankind exalted, rather than the dignity of Christ augmented.*” (Dorner, p. 137.) But whether the notion of a *felix culpa*, by which sin is made to appear as *θεοτόκος*, might not lead men so far, as to worship it on pantheistic grounds, and at the same time to make light of it in the moral point of view, is another question. And on the other hand, if we, looking at sin in a *serious* light, regard the incarnation of Christ *merely* as something which has become necessary in order to repair the damage, its happy aspect will be lost sight of, and the joy we might experience at Christmas will too soon be changed into the weeping and wailing of the Passion-week. This is the principal fault of Anselm’s theory. But with respect to the exaltation of mankind at the expense of the dignity of Christ, the latter, so far from being endangered by the theory of Wessel, is raised by the idea that Christ has assumed humanity not on account of man, but *for his own sake*, an idea by which the pride of man is humbled.

and Dist. xix. On the other hand, *Wessel*, whose sentiments were by no means those of Pelagius, took the same view (de incarn. c. 7 and c. 11, quoted by Ullmann, p. 254.) In his opinion the last cause of the incarnation of the Son of God is not to be found in the human race, but in the Son of God himself. He became man for his own sake; it was not the entrance of sin into the world which called forth this determination of the Divine will; Christ would have assumed humanity, even if Adam had never sinned: *Si incarnatio facta est principaliter propter peccati expiationem, sequeretur, quod anima Christi facta sit non principali intentione, sed quadam quasi occasione. Sed inconveniens est, nobilissimam creaturam occasionaliter esse introductam,* (quoted by Dorner, p. 140.)

FIFTH SECTION.

THE DOCTRINE OF SALVATION.

§ 183.

PREDESTINATION.

(*The Controversy of Gottschalk.*)

*Cellot, L., historia Gotteschalci. Par. 1655, f. † Staudenmaier, Scotus
Erigena, p. 170, ss.*

HOWEVER great the authority of Augustine was in the West, the prevailing notions concerning the doctrine of Predestination contained more or less of the Semipelagian element.⁽¹⁾ Accordingly, when in the course of the ninth century *Gottschalk*, a monk in the Franciscan monastery of Orbais, ventured to revive the rigid doctrine of that Father, and even went so far as to assert not only Predestination, but also Reprobation,⁽²⁾ he exposed himself to persecution. He was, in the first instance, opposed by *Rabanus Maurus*,⁽³⁾ and afterwards condemned by the Synods of Mayence (A. D. 848), and of Chiersy (Carisiacum, A. D. 849).⁽⁴⁾ *Hincmar*, Archbishop of Rheims, took part in the transactions of the latter Synod. Though *Prudentius of Troyes*,⁽⁵⁾ *Ratramnus*,⁽⁶⁾ *Servatus Lupus*,⁽⁷⁾ and several others, pronounced in favour of Gottschalk, or, at least,

of rigid Augustinism, *John Scotus Erigena*, by an ingenious piece of argument, contrived to preserve, in appearance, the orthodoxy of Augustine, by asserting, with the support of quotations borrowed from his writings, that evil being something negative, could not, as such, be predestinated by God.⁽⁸⁾ The objections advanced by *Prudentius* and *Florus* (Magister) were as little heeded as the steps taken by *Remigius*, Archbishop of Lyons, in behalf of Gottschalk.⁽⁹⁾ On the contrary, the second Synod of Chiersy (A. D. 853) laid down four articles in accordance with the views of Hincmar,⁽¹⁰⁾ which were again zealously defended by the latter,⁽¹¹⁾ when several bishops at the Synod of Valence drew up six other articles of a contrary tendency, which were confirmed by the Synod of Langres (A. D. 859).⁽¹²⁾ Gottschalk, the victim of the passions of others, bore his fate with that fortitude and resignation which have at all times characterized those individuals or bodies of men who had adopted the doctrine of Predestination.

(1) The theologians of *the Greek Church* retained the earlier definitions as a matter of course. John Damasc. de fide orthodox. ii. c. 30 : *χρὴ γινώσκειν ὡς πάντα μὲν προγινώσκει ὁ θεὸς, οὐ πάντα δὲ προορίζει. προγινώσκει γὰρ τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, οὐ προορίζει δὲ αὐτά.* (Comp. § 177, note 1). Respecting the opinions entertained by the theologians of the Western Church, see vol. i. p. 306, ss. The venerable *Bede* (*Expositio allegorica in Canticum Cantic.*) and *Alcuin* (*de Trinit. c. 8*) adopted, in the main, the views of Augustine, but rejected the *prædestin. duplex*. Comp. Münscher, edit. by von Cölln p. 121-22. They were, however, unconscious of the difference between themselves and Augustine; see Neander, *Kirchengeschichte*, iv. p. 412, ss.

(2) Respecting the history of his life, and the possible connection between it and his doctrine, see Neander l. c. p. 414 ss. Staudenmaier, l. c. p. 175 [and Gieseler ii. § 16.] His own views, as well as those of his opponents, may be gathered from:

Guilb. Maugine vett. auctorum, qui saec. ix. de prædestinatione et gratia scripserunt, opera et fragmenta. Paris 1650. Tomi. ii. 4. (in T. ii. : Gotteschalcanæ controversiæ historica et chronica dissertatio.) In the libellus fidei which Gottschalk presented to the synod of Mayence, he asserted: Sicut electos omnes (Deus) prædestinavit ad vitam per gratuitum solius gratiæ suæ beneficium.....sic omnino et reprobos quosque ad æternæ mortis prædestinavit supplicium, per justissimum videlicet justitiæ suæ iudicium (according to Hincmar, de præd. c. 5.) In his confession of faith (given by Münscher ed. by von Cölln p. 122) he expressed himself as follows: Credo et confiteor, quod gemina est prædestinatio, sive electorum ad requiem, sive reproborum ad mortem. But he referred the prædestin. duplex not so much to *evil* itself, as to the *wicked*. Compare the passage quoted by Neander p. 418: Credo atque confiteor, præscisse te ante sæcula quæcunque erunt futura sive bona sive mala, prædestinasse vero tantummodo bona. On the connection subsisting between his views and those of Augustine see Neander l. c. p. 417 ss.

(³) Epist. synodalis Rabani ad Hincmar. given by Mansi T. xiv. p. 914. and Staudenmaier p. 179: Notum sit dilectioni vestræ, quod quidam gyrovagus monachus, nomine Gothescala, qui se asserit sacerdotem in nostra parochia ordinatum, de Italia venit ad nos Moguntiam, novas superstitiones et noxiam doctrinam de prædestinatione Dei introducens et populos in errorem mittens; dicens, quod prædestinatio Dei, sicut in bono, sic ita et in malo, et tales sint in hoc mundo quidam, qui propter prædestinationem Dei, quæ eos cogat in mortem ire, non possint ab errore et peccato se corrigere, quasi Deus eos fecisset ab initio incorrigibiles esse, et pænæ obnoxios in interitum ire.—As regards the doctrine of Rabanus Maurus himself, he made the decree of God respecting the wicked depend on his prescience, see Neander l. c. p. 421.

(⁴) Mansi T. xiv.—On the outrageous treatment of Gottschalk, see Neander l. c. p. 426 ss.

(⁵) Prudentii Trecassini Epistola ad Hincmarum Rhemig. et Pardulum Laudunensem (which was written about the year 849, and first printed in Lud. Cellotii historia Gotteschalci. Par. 1655.) He asserted a twofold predestination, but made the predestination of the wicked (reprobation) depend on the prescience of God.

He further maintained that Christ had died for none but the elect (Matth. xx. 28.), and interpreted 1 Tim. ii. 4. as meaning: *vel omnes ex omni genere hominum* [comp. Augustine Enchirid. c. 103.] *vel omnes velle fieri salvos, quia nos facit velle fieri omnes homines salvos.* Compare Neander l. c. p. 433.

(6) At the request of the Emperor Charles, the Bald, he composed *de prædestinatione Dei libros ii.* in which he expressed himself as follows (quoted by Manguin T. i. p. 94. Staudenmaier p. 192): *Verum quemadmodum æterna fuit illorum scelerum scientia, ita et definita in secretis cœlestibus pœnæ scientia, et sicut præscientia veritatis non eos impulit ad nequitiam, ita nec prædestinatio coëgit ad pœnam.* Comp. Neander l. c. p. 434.

(7) Servatus Lupus was abbot of Ferrières. Respecting his character, and the history of his life, see Sigebert. Gemblac. de scriptt. eccles. c. 94. Staudenmaier p. 188. He excelled as a scholar, and wrote about the year 850: *de tribus questionibus* (1. de libero arbitrio; 2. de prædestinatione bonorum et malorum; 3. de sanguinis Domini taxatione.) See Manguin T. i. P. ii. p. 9. ss.—*He* too interpreted those passages which are favourable to the doctrine of universal redemption, in accordance with the limited atonement scheme (Neander l. c. p. 436 ss.); but his milder principles induced him to leave many things undecided, since he was far from claiming infallibility (Neander p. 440.)

(8) Probably about the year 851 he addressed a treatise entitled: *Liber de divina prædestinatione* to Hincmar and Pardulus; see Manguin T. i. P. i. p. 103 ss. *He* too did so at the request of the Emperor Charles the Bald. The idea of a *prædestinatio* properly speaking cannot be applied to God, since with him there is neither a *future* nor a *past*. As moreover sin ever carries its own punishment with itself (*de præd. c. 6.: nullum peccatum est, quod non se ipsum puniat, occulte tamen in hac vita, aperte vero in altera*), there is no need of a predestinated punishment. Evil itself does not exist at all as regards God; accordingly the pre-science, as well as the predestination of evil, on the part of God, is altogether out of question. Comp. Neander p. 441 ss.

(9) Prudentii Ep. Trecassini *de prædestin. contra Joann. Scotum liber*, given by Manguin T. i. Pars. i. p. 197 ss.—*Flori Magistri et ecclesiæ Lugdunensis liber advers. Jo. Scoti erroneas definitiones.* *ibid.* T. i. P. i. p. 585. Neander p. 448–450. On

Remigius of Lyons compare Neander l. c. p. 452. Staudenmaier p. 194 ss.

(10) Synodi Carisiacæ Capitula 4. (given by Mauguin T. i. P. ii. p. 173. Münscher edit. by von Cölln p. 125.) Cap. i. Deus omnipotens hominem sine peccato rectum cum libero arbitrio condidit et in Paradiso posuit, quem in sanctitate justitiæ permanere voluit. Homo libero arbitrio male utens peccavit et cecidit et factus est massa perditionis totius humani generis. Deus autem bonus et justus elegit ex eadem massa perditionis secundum *præscientiam* suam, quos per gratiam *prædestinavit ad vitam*, et vitam illis prædestinavit æternam. Cæteros autem, quos justitiæ judicio in massa perditionis reliquit, *perituros præsciivit, sed non ut perirent prædestinavit; pœnam autem illis, quia justus est, prædestinavit æternam*, ac per hoc *unam Dei prædestinationem tantummodo dicimus*, quæ ad donum pertinet gratiæ aut ad retributionem justitiæ. Cap. ii. Libertatem arbitrii in primo homine perdidimus, quam per Christum Dominum nostrum recepimus. *Et habemus liberum arbitrium ad bonum*, præventum et adjutum gratia, et habemus *liberum arbitrium ad malum*, desertum gratia. Liberum autem habemus arbitrium, quia gratis liberatum, et gratia de corrupto sanatum. Cap. iii. *Deus omnipotens omnes homines sine exceptione vult salvos fieri*, licet non omnes salventur. Quod autem quidam salvantur, salvantis est donum: quod autem quidam pereunt, pereuntium est meritum. Cap. iv. Christus Jesus Dominus noster, sicut nullus homo est, fuit vel erit, cujus natura in illo assumpta non fuerit, ita nullus est, fuit vel erit homo, pro quo passus non fuerit, licet non omnes passionis ejus mysterio redimantur. Quod vero omnes passionis ejus mysterio non redimuntur, non respicit ad magnitudinem et pretii copiositatem, sed ad infidelium et ad non credentium ea fide, quæ per dilectionem operatur, respicit partem: quia poculum humanæ salutis, quod confectum est infirmitate nostra et virtute divina, habet quidem in se ut omnibus prosit, sed si non bibitur, non medetur.

(11) He composed (A. D. 859) a defence of the Capitula, which was addressed to the Emperor Charles the Bald, under the title: *de prædestinatione et libero arbitrio contra Gotheschalcum et cæteros Prædestinationos* (in Hinemari Opp. ed. Sismondi T. i. p. 1-410.)

(¹²) Concilii Valentini iii. Can. i.—vi. given by Mauguin l. c. p. 231 ss. Can. iii: *Fidenter fatemur prædestinationem electorum ad vitam et prædestinationem impiorum ad mortem: in electione tamen salvandorum misericordiam Dei præcedere meritum bonum, in damnatione autem periturorum meritum malum præcedere justum Dei judicium. Prædestinatione autem Deum ea tantum statuissè, quæ ipse vel gratuita misericordia, vel justo judicio facturus erat.....in malis vero ipsorum malitiam præscisse, quia ex ipsis est, non prædestinasse, quia ex illo non est. Pœnam sane malum meritum eorum sequentem, uti Deum qui omnia prospicit præscivisse et prædestinasse, quia justus est.....* *Verum aliquos ad malum prædestinatos esse divina potestate, videlicet ut quasi aliud esse non possint, non solum non credimus, sed etiam si sunt qui tantum mali credere velint, cum omni detestatione sicut Arausica synodus (vol. i. p. 307.) illis Anathema dicimus.*—According to Can. iv. Christ has shed his blood only for believers.—The general import of the canons was expressed in the following terms: quatuor capitula, quæ a Concilio fratrum nostrorum minus prospectè suscepta sunt, propter inutilitatem vel etiam noxietatem et errorem contrarium veritati.....a pio auditu fidelium penitus explodimus et ut talia et similia caveantur per omnia auctoritate Spiritus S. interdiciamus.—The notions of Scotus Erigina were condemned as ineptæ quæstiunculæ et aniles pæne fabulæ (see Neander l. c. p. 457.) The six Canones Lingo-nenses (given by Maguin l. c. p. 235 ss.) were merely a repetition of the former four. Attempts at a union were made at the Synod of Savonières (apud Saponarias), a suburb of Toul, but it was found impossible to come to an understanding. See Neander p. 458.

§ 184.

FURTHER DEVELOPEMENT OF THE DOCTRINE OF PREDESTINATION.

Among the scholastics it was especially *Anselm*,⁽¹⁾ *Peter Lombard*,⁽²⁾ and *Thomas Aquinas*,⁽³⁾ who endeavoured to retain Augustine's doctrine of an uncondi-

tional election, though with many limitations. The entire religious tendency of *Bonaventura* also leads us to suppose that he did not mean to restrict the free grace of God, when he maintained on practical grounds that the cause of his mercy was to be found in the measure of man's susceptibility to that which is good.⁽⁴⁾ But this idea was also taken up by some who knew how to make use of it in favour of a trivial theory of the meritoriousness of works, and Augustinism was thus perverted into a new sort of Semipelagianism by *Scotus* and his followers.⁽⁵⁾ Accordingly, *Thomas of Bradwardina* (a second Gottschalk, who lived in the twelfth century) found it necessary to commence a new contest in defence of Augustine and his system.⁽⁶⁾ The forerunners of the Reformation, *Wycliffe*, *Savonarola*, and *Wessel*, were also led by the conviction of man's dependence on God, which manifested itself in living piety, to return to the more profound fundamental principle of Augustinism, though the last of the three urged the necessity of a free appropriation of the Divine grace on the part of man as a *conditio sine qua non*.⁽⁷⁾

⁽¹⁾ Anselm composed a separate treatise on this subject, entitled: *de concordia præscientiæ et prædestinationis nec non gratiæ Dei c. libero arbitrio*. in *Opp.* p. 123–34. (150–164.) He proceeded on the assumption that no difference exists between prescience and predestination. *P. ii. c. 10*: *Dubitari non debet, quia ejus prædestinatio et præscientia non discordant, sed sicut præscit, ita quoque prædestinat*; he referred, however, the one as well as the other, in the first instance, to that which is good, *c. 9*: *Bona specialius præscire et prædestinare dicitur, quia in illis facit, quod sunt et quod bona sunt, in malis autem non nisi quod sunt essentialiter, non quod mala sunt*. *Comp. P. i. c. 7*. But *he* too differed in some points from Augustine. Thus he called the proposition: *non esse liberum arbitrium nisi ad mala*, absurd (*ii. c. 8.*), and endeavoured to hold the doctrine of the

freedom of the will together with that of predestination. But the freedom of the will, in his opinion, does not consist in a mere liberty of choice, for in that case the virtuous would be less free than the vicious. On the contrary, the rational creatures received it *ad servandam acceptam a Deo rectitudinem*. Anselm also showed that there are Scriptures favourable to either system (that of grace, and that of the freedom of the will), and then continued as follows: *Quoniam ergo in sacra Scriptura quædam invenimus, quæ soli gratiæ favere videntur et quædam, quæ solum liberum arbitrium statuere sine gratia putantur: fuerunt quidam superbi, qui totam virtutem et efficaciam in sola libertate arbitrii consistere sunt arbitrati, et sunt nostro tempore multi [?] qui liberum arbitrium esse aliquid, penitus desperant.*—Therefore cap. 14: *Nemo servat rectitudinem acceptam nisi volendo, velle autem illam aliquis nequit nisi habendo. Habere vero illam nullatenus valet nisi per gratiam. Sicut ergo illam nullus accipit nisi gratia præveniente, ita nullus eam servat nisi eadem gratia subsequente.* Compare also his treatise *de libero arbitrio*, and Möhler, *Kleine Schriften* i. p. 170 ss.

(²) Sent. Lib. i. Dist. 40. A.: *Prædestinatio est gratiæ præparatio, quæ sine præscientia esse non potest. Potest autem sine prædestinatione esse præscientia.* Prædestinatione quippe Deus ea præscivit, quæ fuerat ipse facturus, sed præscivit Deus etiam quæ non esset ipse facturus, *i. e.* omnia mala. Prædestinavit eos quos elegit, reliquos vero reprobavit, *i. e.* ad mortem æternam præscivit peccaturos. On the election of individual persons, see dist. 46 ss. and compare 47.

(³) Summæ P. i. Qu. 23. Art. 1 ss. (quoted by Münscher ed. by von Cölln p. 151–154.) He there distinguished between *electio* and *delectio*.—God will that all men should be saved antecedenter, but not consequenter (*θέλημα προηγούμενον* and *επόμενον*.)—Respecting the *causa meritoria* see Art. 5.

(⁴) Comment. in Sent. Lib. i. Dist. 40. Art. 2. Qu. 1. quoted by Münscher ed. by von Cölln p. 154.—The liberty of the will is as *causa contingens* included in the prescience.

(⁵) Duns Scotus in Sent. L. i. Dist. 40. in Resol. (quoted by Münscher ed. by von Cölln p. 155.): *Divina autem voluntas circa ipsas creaturas libere et contingenter se habet. Quocirca contingenter salvandos prædestinat, et posset eosdem non prædestinare.*

Dist. 17. Qu. 1. in Res. :.....Actus meritorius est in potestate hominis, supposita generali influenza, si habuerit liberi arbitrii usum et gratiam, sed completio in ratione meriti non est in potestate hominis nisi dispositive, sic tamen dispositive, quod ex dispositione divina nobis revelata.

(⁶) Thomas of Bradwardina, surnamed Doctor profundus, was born at Hartfeld, in the county of Sussex (about the year 1290), well read in the works of Plato and Aristotle, was master of Merton College, confessor of King Edward III., archbishop of Canterbury, and died A. D. † 1349. In his work entitled: *de causa Dei contra Pelagium et de virtute causarum*, ad suos Mertonenses lib. iii. (edited by Savil. Lond. 1618 fol.), extracts from which are given by Schröckh, *Kirchengeschichte* xxxiv. p. 227 ss. he complained, that *almost the whole world had fallen into the errors of Pelagianism*. In his principles he agreed on the whole with Augustine and Anselm, though some of his notions appeared more rigid than those of Augustine himself. Among other things, he lowered the free will of man so much, as to represent it as a servant who follows her mistress (*i. e.* the divine will), an idea which cannot but be called mechanical. Comp. Schröckh l. c. Münscher ed. by von Cölln p. 156. 57.

(⁷) Wycliffe, *Trialog*. Lib. ii. c. 14: Videtur mihi probabile, ... quod Deus necessitat creaturas singulas activas ad quemlibet actum suum. Et sic sunt aliqui *prædestinati*, *h. e.* post laborem ordinati ad gloriam, aliqui *præsciti*, *h. e.* post vitam miseram ad pœnam perpetuam ordinati. Compare also what follows where this idea is more fully discussed in a scholastico-speculative manner.—*Wessel* both enlarged and narrowed the extent of the atonement. Christ has suffered for all, but his sufferings will be useful to every man only inasmuch as he shows susceptibility for them; the susceptibility itself is proportioned to the amount of inward purity which he exhibits, and to the degree in which his life is conformable to that of Christ. *de magnit. pass.* c. 10. quoted by Ullmann p. 271. 72. On Savonarola's liberal views on the doctrine of predestination, see Rudelbach p. 361 ss. and Meier p. 269 ss.

§ 185.

APPROPRIATION OF DIVINE GRACE.

Though Augustine had demonstrated with logical strictness the natural corruption of mankind, the unconditional election by the free grace of God, and the effects of that grace, he gave no precise definition of the appropriation of the grace of God on the part of man, of justification, sanctification, etc.⁽¹⁾ It was in consequence of this very deficiency that Semipelagianism again found its way into the Church. *Thomas Aquinas* understood by justification not only the acquittal of the sinner, but also the communication of divine life (*infusio gratiæ*) from the hand of God, which takes place at the same time.⁽²⁾ It was also possible to establish very different definitions of the idea of grace; some regarded it (from the theological point of view) as a quality, or an act of God, while others looked upon it (in its bearing upon anthropology) as a religious-moral energy, which works in man, and forms a part of the regenerate. Hence *Peter Lombard* and *Thomas Aquinas* distinguished between *gratia gratis dans*, *gratia gratis data*, and *gratia gratum faciens*, the last of which was further divided into *gratia operans*, and *gratia cooperans* (*præveniens* and *comitans*).⁽³⁾ Concerning the certainty of divine grace, not only *Thomas Aquinas*, but also *Tauler*, still entertained doubts,⁽⁴⁾ while the mystics, generally speaking, attempted precisely to point out the various steps and degrees of the higher life wrought by the Holy Spirit in the regenerate, and to describe in detail the inward process which takes place in the enlightened, the awakened, etc.⁽⁵⁾ On the

other hand, the fanatical and pantheistic sects of the middle ages lost sight of the serious duty of sanctification in the fantastic intoxication of feeling.⁽⁶⁾

(1.) See vol. i. p. 303-304.

(2.) Thomas Summ. P. ii. 1. Qu. 100. Art. 12. (quoted by Münscher, ed. by von Cölln, p. 147.): *justificatio primo ac proprie dicitur factio justitiæ, secundario vero et quasi improprie potest dici justificatio significatio justitiæ, vel dispositio ad justitiam. Sed si loquamur de justificatione proprie dicta, justitia potest accipi prout est in habitu, vel prout est in actu. Et secundum hoc justificatio dupliciter dicitur, uno quidem modo, secundum quod homo fit justus adipiscens habitum justitiæ, alio vero modo, secundum quod opera justitiæ operatur, ut secundum hoc justificatio nihil aliud sit quam justitiæ executio. Justitia autem, sicut et aliæ virtutes, potest accipi et acquisita, et infusa. . . . Acquisita quidem causatur ex operibus, sed infusa causatur ab ipso Deo per ejus gratiam. Comp. Qu. 113. Art. 1. quoted by Münscher, edit. by von Cölln, l. c.*

(3.) Peter Lombard Sent ii. Dist. 27. D. Thomas Aquinas. Summ. P. iii. Qu. 2. Art. 10. (quoted by Münscher edit. by von Cölln, p. 140. ss.)

⁴⁾ Thomas supposed (Summ. P. ii. 1. Qu. 112. Art. 5.) a threefold way in which man could ascertain whether he was a subject of divine grace or not; 1. By direct revelation on the part of God; 2. By himself (certitudinaliter); 3. By certain indications (conjecturaliter per aliqua signa). But the last two were, in his opinion, uncertain; as for the first, God very seldom makes use of it, and only in particular cases (revelat Deus hoc aliquando aliquibus ex speciali privilegio). Luther denounced this notion of the uncertainty of man being in a state of grace (in his Comment. upon Gal. iv. 6), as a dangerous and sophistical doctrine. Nevertheless *Tauler* entertained the same opinion, *Predigten*, vol. i. p. 67.: No man on earth is either so good, or so blessed, or so well informed in holy doctrine, as to know whether he is made a subject of the grace of God or not, unless it be made known to him by a special revelation of God. If a man will but examine himself, it will be evident enough to him that he does not know; thus the desire of knowing proceeds from ignorance,

as if a child would know what a sovereign has in his heart. Accordingly, as he who is bodily diseased is to believe his physician, who knows the nature of his disease better than himself, so man must believe his modest confessor.

(⁵) According to Bonaventura, the grace of God manifests itself in a threefold way: 1. In habitus virtutum; 2. In habitus donorum; 3. In habitus beatitudinum. Breviloquium v. 4. ss. comp. Richard of St Victor, quoted by Engelhardt, p. 30 ss. A lively picture of the mystical doctrine of salvation is given by the author of the work, Büchlein von der Deutschen Theologie, where he shews how Adam must die, and Christ live in us. In his opinion, *purification*, *illumination*, and *union*, are the three principal degrees. The last in particular (*unio mystica*) is to be brought forward as the aim and crown of the whole. According to ch. 25 of the work referred to, it (*union*) consists in this: “that we are pure, single-minded, and, in the pursuit of truth, are entirely one with the one eternal will of God, or that *we have not any will at all of our own, or that the will of the creature flows into the will of the eternal Creator, and is so blended with it, and annihilated by it, that the eternal will alone wills, acts, and suffers in us.*” Comp. ch. 30. “Behold, man in that state wills or desires nothing but good as such, and for no other reason but because it is good, and not because it is this thing or that, nor because it pleases one or displeases another, nor because it is pleasant or unpleasant, sweet or bitter, etc....for then all selfishness, egotism, and man’s own interest have ceased, and fallen into oblivion; no longer is it said, I love myself, or I love you, or such and such a thing. And, if you would ask charity, what dost thou love? she would say, I love good. And why? she would say, because it is good. And because it is good, it is also good, and right, and well done, that it may be right well desired and loved. *And if my own self were better than God, then I ought to love it above God.* On that account God does not love himself as God, but as the highest good. For if God knew anything better than God, etc. (comp. vol. i. p. 467. note 2.). . . Behold, thus it ought to be, and really is, in a godly person, or in a truly sanctified man, for otherwise he could neither be godly nor sanctified. Ch. 39. Now it might be asked, what man is godly or sanctified? The reply is, he who is illuminated and en-

lightened with the eternal or divine light, and kindled with eternal or divine love, is a godly or sanctified person: . . . *We ought to know, that light and knowledge are nothing, and are good for nothing, without charity.*" (He distinguishes, however, between the true light and the false, between true love and false love), etc. *Tauler* expressed himself in similar terms (*Predigten* i. p. 117.): He who has devoted himself to God, and surrendered himself prisoner to him for ever, may expect that God, in his turn, will surrender himself prisoner to him; and, overcoming all obstacles, and opening all prisons, God will lead man to the divine liberty, viz., to himself. Then man will, in some respects, be rather a Divine being than a natural man. And if you touch man you touch God; he who would see and confess the former, must see and confess him in God. Here all wounds are healed, and all pledges are remitted; here the transition is made from the creature to God, from the natural being, in some respect, to a divine being. This loving reciprocation is above our apprehension, it is above all sensible or perceptible manner, and above natural manner. Those who are within, and are what we have described, are in much the nearest and best way, and in the path to much the greatest blessedness, where they will ever enjoy God in the highest possible degree. It is far better to remain silent on those points than to speak of them, better to perceive, or to feel, than to understand them. *Suso*, speaking of the unio mystica in his treatise entitled, *Büchlein von der ewigen Weisheit*, Lib. ii. c. 7. expressed himself poetically as follows (quoted by *Diepenbröck* p. 275.): O thou gentle and lovely flower of the field, thou beloved bride in the embraces of the soul, loving with a pure love, how happy is he who ever truly felt what it is to possess thee; but how strange is it to hear a man [talk of thee] who does not know thee, and whose heart and mind are yet carnal! O thou precious, thou incomprehensible good, this hour is a happy one, this present time is a sweet one, in which I must open to thee a secret wound which thy sweet love has inflicted upon my heart. Lord, thou knowest that divided love is as water in fire; thou knowest that true, heartfelt love, cannot suffer a third person. O thou! the only Lord of my heart and soul, therefore my heart desires that thou shouldst love me with a special love, and that thy Divine eyes would take a special delight

in me. O Lord! thou hast so many hearts which love thee with a heartfelt love, and prevail much with thee; alas! thou tender and dear Lord! how is it then with me. *Ruysbroek* has treated very fully of the mystical doctrine of salvation (quoted by Engelhardt, p. 190 ss). In his opinion, man attains unto God by an active, an inward, and a contemplative life. The first has regard rather to the external (exercises of penance.) Only when man *loves* his desires take an opposite direction. When our spirits turn entirely to the light, viz., God, all will be made perfect in us, and be restored to its primitive state. We are re-united to the light, and, by the grace of God, are born again, out of light, in a supernatural manner. The eternal light itself brings forth four lights in us: 1. The natural light of heaven, which we have in common with the animals; 2. The light of the highest heaven, by which we behold, as it were, with our bodily senses, the glorified body of Christ and the saints; 3. The spiritual light (the natural intelligence of angels and men); 4. The light of the grace of God. Concerning the three unities in man, the three advents of Christ, the four processions, the three meetings, the gifts of the Holy Spirit, etc., as well as the various degrees of the contemplative life, the degrees of love, see Engelhardt, l. c. *Savonarola* described (in his Sermons) the state of grace as an act of sealing on the part of the Lord; Jesus Christ, the crucified one, is the seal with which the sinner is sealed after he has done penance, and received a new heart. The billows of temporal afflictions cannot quench the fire of this love, etc.; nevertheless grace does not work irresistibly, man may resist, as well as lose it. Respecting Savonarola's views on the doctrine of the uncertainty of a state of grace, see Rudelbach p. 364, and Meier p. 272.

(6) See the Episcopal letter quoted by Mosheim, p. 256. : Item dicunt, quod homo possit sic uniri Deo, quod ipsius sit idem posse ac velle et operari quodcunque, quod est ipsius Dei. Item credunt, se esse Deum per naturam sine distinctione. Item, quod sint in eis omnes perfectiones divinæ, ita quod dicunt, se esse æternos, et in æternitate. Item dicunt, se omnia creasse, et plus creasse, quam Deus. Item, quod nullo, indigent nec Deo nec Deitate. Item, quod sunt impeccabiles, unde quemcunque actum peccati faciunt sine peccato (compare vol. i. p. 455. note 2). The opinions of Master Eckart on this question were also pantheistic:

Nos transformamur totaliter in Deum et convertimur in eum simili modo, sicut in sacramento convertitur panis in corpus Christi: sic ego convertor in eum, quod ipse operatur in me suum esse. Unum non simile per viventem Deum verum est, quod nulla ibi est distinctio. cf. Raynald. Annal. ad a. 1329. He was opposed by *Gerson*, see Hundeshagen p. 66.

§ 186.

FAITH AND GOOD WORKS. THE MERITORIOUSNESS OF THE LATTER.

Though many theologians felt disposed to hold Pelagian sentiments, it was necessary to retain the Pauline doctrine of *justification by faith*. But then the difficulty was to ascertain what we are to understand by *faith*. *John Damascenus* was the first who represented faith as consisting in two things, viz. a belief in the truth of the doctrines, and a firm confidence in the promises of God.⁽¹⁾ *Hugo of St Victor* also looked upon faith, on the one hand, as *cognitio*, and on the other as *affectus*.⁽²⁾ And lastly, the distinction made by *Peter Lombard* between *credere Deum*, *credere Deo*, and *credere in Deum*,⁽³⁾ shows that he too acknowledged the propriety of assigning various meanings to the term "faith." Only the last kind of faith was regarded by the scholastics as *fides justificans*, *fides formata*.⁽⁴⁾ The most eminent theologians both perceived and taught that *this* kind of faith must of itself produce good works.⁽⁵⁾ Nevertheless the theory of the meritoriousness of good works was developed, together with a practical application of its principles. *Thomas Aquinas* endeavoured in vain to counteract the pernicious consequences of this doctrine, by making a distinction between *meritum ex condigno* and *meritum ex congruo*, but his labours

resulted only in securing the appearance of humility.⁽⁶⁾ But the evil grew still worse, when the notion of supererogatory works, which may be imputed to those who have none of their own, became one of the most dangerous supports of the sale of indulgences.⁽⁷⁾ There were, however, even at that time, some who strenuously opposed such abuses.⁽⁸⁾

⁽¹⁾ De fide orth. iv. 10: Ἡ μέντοι πίστις διπλῆ ἐστίν· ἔστι γὰρ πίστις ἐξ ἀκοῆς. (Rom. x. 17.) ἀκούοντες γὰρ τῶν θείων γραφῶν, πιστεύομεν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, αὕτη δὲ τελειοῦται πᾶσι τοῖς νομοθετηθεῖσιν ἰπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἔργω πιστεύουσα, εὐσεβοῦσα καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς πράττουσα τοῦ ἀνακαινίσαντος ἡμᾶς..... Ἔστι δὲ πάλιν πίστις ἐλπίζομένων ὑπόστασις (Hebr. xi. 1.) πραγμάτων ἔλεγχος οὐ βλεπομένων, ἢ ἀδίστακτος καὶ ἀδιάκριτος ἐλπίς τῶν τε ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἡμῖν ἐπηγγελμένων, καὶ τῆς τῶν αἰτήσεων ἡμῶν ἐπιτυχίας· ἡ μὲν οὖν πρώτη τῆς ἡμετέρας γνώμης ἐστὶ, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα τῶν χαρισμάτων τοῦ πνεύματος.

⁽²⁾ On the difference between these two terms, compare Lieber, p 435.

⁽³⁾ Sent. L. iii. Dist. 23. D.: Aliud est enim credere in Deum, aliud credere Deo, aliud credere Deum. Credere Deo, est credere vera esse quæ loquitur, quod et mali faciunt. Et nos credimus homini, sed non in hominem. Credere Deum, est credere quod ipse sit Deus, quod etiam mali faciunt [this kind of faith was sometimes called the faith of devils, according to Jam. ii. 19.]. Credere in Deum est credendo amare, credendo in eum ire, credendo ei adhærere et ejus membris incorporari. Per hanc fidem justificatur impius, ut deinde ipsa fides incipiat per dilectionem operari.—The same may be said of the phrase, credere Christum, etc. Comp. Litt. c.

⁽⁴⁾ Generally speaking, the scholastics made a difference between subjective and objective faith, *fides qua*, and *fides quæ creditur* (Peter Lombard l. c.). As a subdivision, we find mentioned *fides formata*, which works by love. Faith without love remains *informis*, see Lombard l. c.: Thomas Aquinas Summ. P. ii. 2. Qu. 4. Art. 3. (quoted by Münscher, ed. by von Cölln. p. 175.)

(5) Thus Peter Lombard said, l. c.: *Sola bona opera dicenda sunt, quæ fiunt per dilectionem Dei. Ipsa enim dilectio opus fidei dicitur.*—Faith would therefore still be the source of good works, *Comp. Lib. ii. Dist. 41. A.* where everything which does not proceed from faith (according to *Rom. xiv. 23.*) is represented as sin. The views of Thomas Aquinas were not quite so scriptural, *Summ. P. ii. 2. Qu. 4. Art. 7.*; he spoke of faith itself as a *virtue*, though he assigned to it the first and highest place among all virtues. Such notions, however, led more and more to the revival of Pelagian sentiments, till the forerunners of the Reformation returned to the simple truths of the Gospel. This was done *e. g.* by *Wessel* (see *Ullmann, p. 272. ss.*) and *Savonarola* (see *Rudelbach, p. 351. ss.*)

(6) Alanus ab Insulis also opposed the notion of the meritoriousness of works in decided terms, *ii. 18.* (quoted by *Pez. i. p. 492.*): *Bene mereri proprie dicitur, qui sponte alicui benefacit, quod facere non tenetur. Sed nihil Deo facimus, quod non teneamur facere..... Ergo meritum nostrum apud Deum non est proprie meritum, sed solutio debiti. Sed non est merces nisi meriti vel debiti præcedentis. Sed non meremur proprie, ergo quod dabitur a Deo, non erit proprie merces, sed gratia.* Some theologians regarded *faith* itself as meritorious (inasmuch as they considered it to be a work, a virtue—obedience to the Church), *Thomas Aq. P. ii. 2. Qu. 2. Art. 9.* On the distinction made between different kinds of merita, see *P. ii. 1. Qu. 114. Art. 4,* quoted by *Münscher, edit. by von Cölln, p. 145.* Men have only a *meritum ex congruo*, but not *ex condigno*. Christ alone possessed the latter.

(7) The doctrine of “*opera supererogativa*” had its origin in the distinction made by Thomas Aquinas between *consilium* and *præceptum*, see *Summ. P. ii. Qu. 108. Art. 4.* quoted by *Münscher, edit. by von Cölln, p. 177.* Respecting the stock of good works supposed to be kept by the Church, and the abuses of the sale of indulgences (which were only a gross species of the bulls of indulgence) etc., see the works on *Ecclesiastical History*. See *Gieseler ii. 2. p. 452. ss.* where further proofs are given.

(8) Thus the Franciscan monk, Berthold, in the thirteenth century, zealously opposed the penny-preachers who seduced the souls of men; see *Kling pp. 149. 150. 235. 289. 384. 395.*

Grimm p. 210. Wackernagel, deutsches Lesebuch i. Sp. 664. On the struggles of Wycliffe, Huss, and others, see the works on Ecclesiastical History. Concerning the treatise of Huss: de indulgentiis compare Schröckh xxxiv. p. 599. ss. Moreover the actual exercises of penance on the part of the Flagellantes, and those who tormented themselves, formed a practical opposition to the laxity of principle. See Gieseler l. c. p. 469.

SIXTH SECTION.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH AND THE SACRAMENTS.

§ 187.

THE CHURCH.

As early as the preceding period, theologians had confounded the idea of the Church with its external manifestation, and thus prepared the way for all the abuses of the Romish hierarchy, and the developement of the papacy. The relation in which the ecclesiastical power stands to the secular, was often illustrated by the comparison of the two swords, which some supposed to be separated, while others thought them united in the hand of Peter.⁽¹⁾ It belongs, properly speaking, to the province of the Canon law, to develope and define those relations; but inasmuch as adherence to the decisions of ecclesiastical authorities on such matters was supposed to form a part of orthodoxy, and every species of dissent appeared not only heretical, but as the most dangerous of all heresies, it is obvious that they are not to be passed over with silence in the history of doctrines. That which exerted the greatest influence upon the doctrinal tendency of the present age, was the doctrine of the papal power and infallibility, in opposition to the doctrine that the councils were superior to the Pope.⁽²⁾ The mystical idea of the

Church, and the notion of a universal priesthood, which was intimately connected with it, was propounded by *Hugo of St Victor*, as well as by the forerunners of the Reformation, *Wycliffe*, *Huss*, *Wessel*, and *Savonarola*.⁽³⁾ The antihierarchical element referred to, and together with it the antiecclesiastical, manifested itself no where so strongly as in the fanatical sects of the middle ages, whose principles led them sometimes to oppose not only Christianity, but also the existing political governments.⁽⁴⁾ On the other hand, the Waldenses and Bohemian brethren endeavoured, in a simpler way, and without fanaticism, to return to the foundation laid by the apostles: it must, however, be admitted, that in doing so they overlooked the historical developement of the Church.⁽⁵⁾

(1) This is more fully shewn in the work entitled: *Vridankes Bescheidenheit*, edit. by *Grimm*, Gött. 1834, p. lvii. *Bernard of Clairval* was one of the first who took the words of Luke xxii. 36. 38. in a figurative sense, *Epist. ad Eugen.* 256. (written A. D. 1146.); in accordance with him *John of Salisbury* (*Polic.* iv. 3.) asserted, that both the swords are in the hands of the Popes, but the Pope ought to wield the secular sword by the arm of the Emperor. On the other hand, the Emperor *Frederic I.* referred the *one* of the two swords to the power of the Pope, the *other* to that of the Emperor (see the letters written A. D. 1157, 1160, 1167, in the work of *Grimm*). The Emperor *Otto* maintained the same in opposition to Pope *Innocent III.* Since it was *Peter* (according to *John xviii.* 10.) who drew the sword, the advocates of the papal system inferred, that *both* the swords ought to be in *one* hand, and that the Pope had only to lend it to the Emperor. Such was the reasoning, *e. g.*, of the Franciscan monk *Berthold*. On the contrary, others, such as *Friedank*, *Reinmar of Zweter* and the author of the work entitled: *der Sachsenspiegel*, insisted that the power was to be divided; in a note to the "*Sachsenspiegel*," it is assumed that Christ gave only one of the two swords to the Apostle *Peter*, but the other, the secular one, to

the Apostle John. The opposite view was defended in the work called "der Schwabenspiegel." Further particulars are given by Grimm l. c. [Compare also Gieseler ii. § 55. note n.]

(²) Compare *e. g.* the bull issued by Pope Boniface VIII. A. D. 1302 (in Extravag. commun. Lib. i. Tit. viii. cap. 1.), and the decision of the Synod of Basle Sess. i. de 19. Jul. 1431. in which the opposite doctrine was set forth. (Mansi T. xxix. Cod. 21. Münscher ed. by von Cölln p. 316-18.)

(³) According to *Hugo of St Victor* (de Sacram. Lib. ii. P. iii. quoted by Liebner p. 445. ss.) Christ is the invisible head of the Church, and the multitudo fidelium is his body. The Church, as a whole, is divided into two halves (walls), the laity and the clergy (the left side and the right side). As much as the spirit is above the body, so much is the ecclesiastical power above the secular. On that account the former has the right not only to institute the latter, but also to judge it when it is corrupt. But since the ecclesiastical power itself is instituted by God, it can be judged only by God when it turns from the right path (1 Cor. 6.) Hugo also acknowledged the Pope as the vicarius Petri. He conceded to him the privilege of being served by all ecclesiastics, and the unlimited power of binding and loosing all things upon earth. Wycliffe made a much more precise distinction between the idea of the Church, and the external ecclesiastical power, than Hugo (see the extracts from the Trialogus given by Schröckh xxxiv. p. 510. ss. and his other writings of an antihierarchical tendency, *ibid.* p. 547.). Comp. *Huss*, de ecclesia (Histor. et Monum. T. i. p. 243.) *Hase*, Kirchengeschichte p. 387. makes the following remark:—"Huss ascended from the idea of the Roman Church to the idea of the true Church, which was in his opinion the community of all who have from eternity been predestinated to blessedness, and whose head can be none but Christ himself, but not the Pope. As Huss, however, retained all the assertions concerning the Church made by the Roman Catholics, and applied them to the said community of the elect, who alone can administer the sacraments in an efficient way, his church must necessarily have assumed the character of an association of separatists." On the contrary, *John Wessel* extended the idea of the Church, so as to render it a truly Catholic institution. In his opinion, the Church consists in the community of saints to

which all truly pious Christians belong, viz., those who are united to Christ by *one* faith, *one* hope, and *one* love (he did not exclude the Greek Christians.) The external unity of the Church under the Pope is merely accidental; nor is the unity spoken of established by the decrees of councils. (Hyperboreans, Indians, and Scythians, who know nothing of the councils of Constance or Basle!) But he considered love to be still more excellent than the unity of faith. In close adherence to the principle of Augustine (*Evangelio non crederem*, etc.), which he regarded as a subjective confession, he believed *with* the Church, and *according to* the Church, but not *in* the Church. Respecting the priesthood he retained the distinction between laity and clergy, but at the same time admitted the doctrine of a universal priesthood, together with the particular priesthood of the clergy. Nor does the Church exist for the sake of the clergy, but, on the contrary, the clergy exist on account of the Church. Comp. Ullmann p. 296. ss. (according to the various essays *de dignitate et potestate ecclesiastica, de sacramento pœnitentiæ, de communione Sanctorum et thesauro ecclesiæ*, collected in the *ferrago verum theologicarum*.) According to *Savonarola*, the Church is composed of all those who are united in the bonds of love and of Christian truth, by the grace of the Holy Spirit; *neither is there the Church, where this grace does not exist*, see the passages collected from his sermons in the works of Rudelbach p. 354, ss. and Meier p. 282. ss. Respecting the mystical interpretation of the ark of the covenant as having regard to the Church, see *ibid*.

(4) Compare Mosheim p. 257.: *Dicunt, se credere, ecclesiam catholicam sive christianitatem fatuam esse vel fatuitatem. Item, quod homo perfectus sit liber in totum, quod tenetur ad servandum præcepta data ecclesiæ a Deo, sicut est præceptum de honoratione parentum in necessitate. Item, quod ratione hujus libertatis homo non tenetur ad servandum præcepta Prælatorum et statutorum ecclesiæ, et hominem fortem, etsi non religiosam, non obligari ad labores manuales pro necessitatibus suis, sed eum libere posse recipere eleemosynam pauperum. Item dicunt, se credere omnia esse communia, unde dicunt, furtum eis licitum esse.*

(5) Comp. Gieseler, *Kirchengeschichte* ii. 2. § 86.

§ 188.

THE WORSHIP OF SAINTS.

The hierarchial system of the Papacy, which was reared like a lofty pyramid upon earth, corresponded to a supposed hierarchy in heaven, at the head of which was Mary, the mother of God.⁽¹⁾ The objection of the polytheistical tendency of this doctrine, which would naturally suggest itself to reflecting minds, was met by the scholastics of the Greek Church by making a distinction between *λατρεία* and *προσκύνησις* by those of the Latin Church, by distinguishing between *Latria*, *Dulia*, and *Hyperdulia*.⁽²⁾ But such distinctions were by no means safeguards against practical abuses, in consequence of which the forerunners of the Reformation were induced, energetically, to oppose the worship of saints.⁽³⁾

⁽¹⁾ The adoration of the Virgin (mariolatry) was countenanced by John Damascenus among the Greeks, and by Peter Damiani, Bernard of Clairval, Bonaventura, and other theologians of the Western Church; see Gieseler, l. c. ii. 2. § 78. (where passages from the songs of the Minnesingers are quoted), Münscher edit. by von Cölln p. 180-82., and *de gratiis et virtutibus beatæ Mariæ Virg.* in Pez, *Thes. Anecd.* T. i. p. 509 ss. To these we may add a passage from *Tauler*, *Predigt auf unserer lieben Frauen Verkündigung* (*Predigten*, vol. iii. p. 57.) Tauler calls Mary “the daughter of the Father, the mother of the Son, the bride of the Holy Spirit, the queen of heaven, the lady of the world and of all creatures, the mother and intercessor of all those who implore her help, a temple of God, in which God has reposed, like a bridegroom in his chamber, with great pleasure and delight which he has there, as in a garden full of every kind of odoriferous herbs, of divers virtues and gifts. By means of these virtues

she has made the heaven of the Holy Trinity pour out honey upon wretched sinners such as we, and has brought to us the Sun of Righteousness, and abolished the curse of Eve, and crushed the head of the devilish serpent. This second Eve has restored, by her child, all that the first Eve had lost and marred, and has provided much more grace and riches. She is the star that was to come out of Jacob (of which the Scripture has foretold—Numb. xxiv. 17.), whose lustre imparts light to the whole world; accordingly, in every distress (says Bernardus) fix thy eyes upon that star, call upon Mary, and thou canst not despair; follow Mary, and thou canst not miss thy way. She will keep thee by the power of her child, lest thou fall in the way; she will protect thee lest thou despair; she will conduct thee to her child; she is able to perform it, *for God Almighty is her child*; she is willing to do it, for she is merciful. Who would doubt for a moment that the child would not honour his mother, or that she does not overflow with love, in whom perfect love (*i. e.*, God himself) has reposed.”—Beside Mary, it was especially the apostles of Christ, the martyrs, those who had taken an active part in the spread of Christianity, the founders of established churches, the greatest lights in the Church, and ascetics, and lastly, monks and nuns in particular, that were canonized. Imagination itself created some new (mythical) saints, *e. g.*, St Longinus; and lastly, some of the men and women mentioned in the Old Testament came in for their share in the general adoration. The right of canonizing formerly possessed by the bishops was more and more claimed by the popes; for particulars see the works on ecclesiastical history.

(2) In the Greek Church it was, in the first instance, in reference to the adoration of images, that the said distinction was made by the second synod of Nice (in Mansi Concil. T. xiii. Col. 377.), as well as by *Theodore Studita*, Ep. 167. App. 521. The *λατρεία* is due to none but the triune Jehovah, the *τιμητικὴ προσκύνησις* we owe also to images. In the Latin Church, Peter Lombard, Sent. Lib. iii. Dict. 9. A., ascribed the Latria to God alone. He further asserted, that there are two species of Dulia, the one of which belongs to every creature, while the other is due *only to the human nature of Christ*. Thomas Aquinas added (Lib. ii. P. i. Qu. 103. Art. 4.) the *Hyperdulia*, which he as-

cribed to none but Mary. Compare the passages quoted by Münscher ed. by von Cölln, p. 182-83.

⁽³⁾ This was done *e. g.* by Huss, in his treatise de mysterio Antichristi c. 23. See Schröckh xxxiv. p. 614. 15. The adoration of saints was connected with *the adoration of images*, and *the worship of images*. The consideration of the external history of the controversy respecting images belongs to the province of ecclesiastical history. The worship of images was defended upon doctrinal grounds by John Damascenus, Orationes iii. pro imaginibus. Opp. T. i. p. 305 ss.—The Synod of Constantinople (A. D. 754) decided against the superstitious adoration of images, the second Synod of Nice (A. D. 787) pronounced in favour of it. An intermediate view was at first entertained in the Western Church (*imagines non ad adorandum, sed ad memoriam rerum gestarum et parietum venustatem habere permittimus*), *e. g.* by the Emperor Charlemagne in his treatise de impio imaginum cultu Lib. iv. (written about the year 790), and the Synod of Frankfurt (A. D. 794); the doctrine of the Synod of Nice was defended by Pope Hadrian (he composed a refutation of the books of Charlemagne, in Mansi T. xiii. Col. 759 ss.)—Thomas Aquinas afterwards asserted (Summ. P. iii. Qu. 25. Art. 3.) in reference to the cross of Christ: *Cum ergo Christus adoretur adoratione patriæ consequens est quod ejus imago sit adoratione patriæ, adoranda* (here then we have a specimen of real idolatry.) Comp. Art. 4. and John Damascenus de fide orthodox. Lib. iv. c. 11.

§ 189.

THE SACRAMENTS.

“ *The doctrine of the Sacraments is the principal point respecting which the scholastics were productive in the formal aspect, as well as the material.*”⁽¹⁾ Not only was the attempt made by several theologians, such as *Hugo of St Victor*,⁽²⁾ *Peter Lombard*,⁽³⁾ and others, to establish a more precise definition of the term “sacrament,” upon the basis laid down by Augustine, but with regard to the number of sacraments, the sacred number

seven was determined upon especially, in consequence of the efforts made by Peter Lombard.⁽⁴⁾ In reference to the latter point, however, nothing had been decided previous to the time of *Bonaventura* and *Thomas Aquinas*.⁽⁵⁾ But after the number had once been determined, it was a comparatively easy task for theologians, so acute as the scholastics, to find out some profound reasons for it.⁽⁶⁾ As, moreover, the Greek Church, from the ninth century, manifested a disposition to increase the number of the sacraments,⁽⁷⁾ and attempts were made at that time to unite the two churches, the western mode of computation was confirmed by the Council of Florence.⁽⁸⁾ None but Wycliffe, the Waldenses, and the more rigid among the Hussites, either returned to the primitive number two, or dissented more or less from the usage of the Catholic Church.⁽⁹⁾

(1) Ullmann, Wessel, p. 321. 22.

(2) Hugo of St Victor was not satisfied with the definition of Augustine : sacramentum est, sacræ rei signum (comp. vol. i. p. 360.), and called it a mere nominal definition. Letters and pictures, added he, might equally be signs of sacred things. His own definition is given Lib. i. P. ix. c. 2 : Sacramentum est corporale vel materiale elementum foris sensibilibus propositum, ex similitudine repræsentans, ex institutione significans et ex sanctificatione continens aliquam invisibilem et spiritalem gratiam. The definition given in Summ. Tr. ii. c. 1. is shorter : sacramentum est visibilis forma invisibilis gratiæ in eo collatæ. Comp. de sacr. Lib. ii. P. vi. c. 3. Liebner p. 426.

(3) Sent. L. iv. Dist. 13 : Sacramentum enim proprie dicitur quod ita signum est gratiæ dei et invisibilis gratiæ forma, ut ipsius imaginem gerat et causa existat. The same cannot be said with regard to all signs... (omne sacramentum est signum, sed non e converso.) Comp. Bonaventura, Breviloqu. vi. c. 1 ss.

(4) As late as the present period, the opinions of theologians on this point were for a considerable time divided. *Rabanus Maurus* and *Paschasius Radbert* acknowledged only four sacra-

ments, or, more properly speaking, only the two sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper; but in connection with baptism they mentioned the Chrisma (confirmation), and divided the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to its two elements, the body and the blood of Christ. Rab. de Inst. Cler. i. 24: Sunt autem sacramenta Baptismus et Chrisma, Corpus et Sanguis, quæ ob id sacramenta dicuntur, quia sub tegumento corporalium rerum virtus divina secretius salutem eorundem sacramentorum operatur, unde et a secretis virtutibus vel sacris *sacramenta* dicuntur. Comp. Paschas. de corp. et sang. Domini c. 3. *Berengar* of Tours expressed himself in similar terms (de s. cœna. Bero- lini 1834) p. 153.: Duo sunt enim præcipue ecclesiæ sacramenta sibi assentanea, sibi comparabilia, regenerationis fidelium et refec- tionis (baptism and the Lord's Supper.) *Bernard of Clairval* spoke of the washing of the feet as a sacrament (Sermo in cœna Domini §. 4. quoted by Münscher edit. by von Cölln p. 188.) *Hugo of St Victor* (Lib. i. P. viii. c. 7.) assumed three classes of sacraments: 1. Those sacraments upon which salvation is supremely founded, and by the participation of which the highest blessings are imparted (baptism and the Lord's Supper, together with confirmation, which is placed P. vii. between the two others.) 2. Those sacraments which promote sanctification, though they are not necessary to salvation, inasmuch as, by their use, the right sentiments of Christians are kept in practice, and a higher degree of grace may be obtained; such are the use of holy water, the sprinkling with ashes, etc. 3. Those sacraments which seem to be instituted only in order to serve as a kind of preparation for, and sanctification of, the other sacraments, such as holy orders, the consecration of the robes of the clergy, and others.— Beside the said three sacraments of the first class, he made par- ticular mention of the sacraments of matrimony (Lib. ii. P. ix.), of penance (P. xiv.), and of extreme unction (P. xv.); “*but he did not state, in reference to any of these sacraments, as he did with regard to baptism and the Lord's Supper, that it was necessary to number it among the sacraments of the first class. It is therefore uncertain whether he has not put some of them among those of the second class.*” Liebner p. 429. Münscher edit. by von Cölln p. 188. 89. *Peter Damiani* mentioned as many as twelve sacraments (Opp. T. ii. p. 167–169.) Whether

Otto, bishop of Bamberg (who lived between the years 1139 and 1189, according to the *vita Othonis* in *Canisius Lectt. antiqu. ed. Basnage. T. iii. P. ii. p. 62.*), introduced the seven sacraments among the Pomeranians whom he had converted to Christianity, is a point which remains to be investigated (see *Engelhardt, Dogmengeschichte ii. p. 196. Münscher edit. by von Cölln p. 189. 90.*) The views of Peter Lombard on the subject in question were more decided; see *Sent. Lib. iv. Dist. 2. A: Jam ad sacramenta novæ legis accedamus, quæ sunt Baptismus, Confirmatio, Panis benedictio, i. e. Eucharistia, Pœnitentia, Unctio extrema, Ordo, Conjugium. Quorum alia remedium contra peccatum præbent. et gratiam adjutricem conferunt, ut Baptismus; alia in remedium tantum sunt, ut Conjugium; alia gratia et virtute nos fulciunt, ut Eucharistia et Ordo.*

⁽⁵⁾ Thus *Alanus ab Insulis Lib. iv.* (quoted by *Pez p. 497.*) enumerated the following sacraments: *Baptismus, Eucharistia, Matrimonium, Pœnitentia, Dedicatio basilicarum, Chrismatis et Olei inunctio*, and assigned them their place as means of grace between the prædicatio and the ecclesia. He spoke only of a plurality of sacraments, but did not state the exact number seven. *Comp. iii. 6. Alexander Hales*, though he adopted the said number, admitted that baptism and the Lord's Supper alone had been instituted by our Lord himself, while the other sacraments had been appointed by his apostles, and the priests. *Summa P. iv. Qu. 8. Membr. 2. Art. 1.* quoted by *Münscher edit. by von Cölln p. 196. 97.*

⁽⁶⁾ According to *Thomas Aquinas P. iii. Qu. 65. Art. 1.* the first five sacraments serve *ad spiritualem uniuscujusque hominis in se ipso perfectionem*, but the last two *ad totius ecclesiæ regimen multiplicationemque*. He then continues: *per Baptismum spiritualiter renascimur, per Confirmationem augemur in gratia et roboramur in fide; renati autem et roborati, nutrimur divina Eucharistiæ alimonia. Quod si per peccatum ægritudinem incurrimus animæ, per Pœnitentiam spiritualiter sanamur, spiritualiter etiam et corporaliter, prout animæ expedit, per extremam Unctionem. Per Ordinem vero ecclesia gubernatur et multiplicatur spiritualiter, per Matrimonium corporaliter augetur.*—*Thomas* however agreed with other theologians *Summ. P. iii. Qu. 62. Art. 5.* in regarding baptism and the Lord's Supper as *potissima*

sacramenta. *Bonaventura* brought (Brevil. vi. Cent. iii. sect. 47. c. 3.) the seven sacraments into connection with the seven diseases of man. Original sin is counteracted by baptism, mortal sin by penance, venial sin by extreme unction; ignorance is cured by ordination, malice by the Lord's Supper, infirmity by confirmation, evil concupiscence by matrimony^a). A corresponding connection may be pointed out between the sacraments and the seven cardinal virtues: baptism leads to faith, confirmation to hope, the Lord's Supper to love, penance to righteousness, extreme unction to perseverance, ordination to prudence, matrimony to moderation (for further particulars see *ibidem*).—Comp. also Berthold's Sermons edited by Kling, p. 439 ss. The "seven sacred things" are, in his opinion, a remedy prepared by Jesus, divided into seven parts, etc.

(7) John Damascenus mentioned (de fide orthodox. iv. 13) the two mysteries of baptism and the Lord's Supper, the former in reference to the birth of man, the latter in reference to the support of his new life; the two mysteries were again subdivided by him, viz. baptism into water and Spirit (Chrisma), and the Lord's Supper into bread and wine. *Theodore Studita* taught (lib. ii. ep. 165. Opp. p. 517) only six sacraments (after the example of Pseudo-Dionysius, see Vol. i. p. 361), viz. 1. Baptism; 2. The Lord's Supper (σύναξις, κοινωνία); 3. The consecration of the holy oil (τελετή μύρου); 4. The ordination of priests (ιερατικαὶ τελειώσεις); 5. The monastic orders (μοναχικὴ τελείωσις); and 6. The rites performed on the dead (περὶ τῶν ἱερῶς κεκοιμημένων). See Schröckh Kirchengeschichte xxiii. p. 127. 28.

(8) Mansi Conc. T. xxxi. Col. 1054 ss. The decisions of this Synod had also binding force for the united Armenians.

(9) Wycliffe made mention of the ecclesiastical doctrine, Lib. iv. c. 1., but in the subsequent chapters critically examined each sacrament separately. Comp. §. 190. note 10. The confession of faith adopted by the Waldenses is given by *Léger*, histoire générale des églises évangéliques de Piémont. 1699. p. 95. quoted by Schröckh, Kirchengesch. xxix. p. 548. That of the Hussites will be found in *Lenfant*, histoire de la guerre des Hussites Vol. ii. p. 132 ss. Schröckh, Kirchengesch. xxxiv. p.

^a "Thus the poor laity have no sacrament to counteract ignorance, nor have the poor clergy a sacrament to counteract lusts." Schleiermacher, Kirchengesch. p. 514.

718 ss. Huss himself adopted the doctrine of seven sacraments, though with certain modifications. See Münscher edit. by von Colln p. 201.

§ 190.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

Many discussions took place among the scholastics respecting the antiquity of the sacraments,⁽¹⁾ their necessity, design, and significance, as well as respecting their specific virtue and effects.⁽²⁾ In the spirit of the better class of the mystics, *Hugo of St Victor* traced the design of the sacraments to the inward religious wants of man.⁽³⁾ But it was especially *Thomas Aquinas* who endeavoured, with a great show of learning, both to define the idea of sacrament still more precisely, and to enlighten himself, as well as others, concerning its effects.⁽⁴⁾ In consequence of the death of Jesus, the sacraments instituted in the New Testament have obtained what is called *virtus instrumentalis*, or *effectiva*, which those of the Old Testament did not possess.⁽⁵⁾ Therefore, by partaking of the sacraments, man acquires a certain character, which, in the case of some sacraments, such as baptism, confirmation, and the ordination of priests, is *character indelebilis*, and, consequently, renders impossible the repetition of such sacraments.⁽⁶⁾ The effects produced by the sacraments arise not only *ex opere operantis*, but also *ex opere operato*.⁽⁷⁾ Accordingly, they neither depend upon the external or internal dignity of him who administers the sacrament, nor upon his faith and moral character, but upon his intention to administer the sacrament as such. This intention must, at least, be *habitual*; but it is not absolutely necessary that it should be *actual*.⁽⁸⁾ In op-

position to the doctrine of Thomas, which received the sanction of the Catholic Church, *Duns Scotus* denied that the effective power of grace was contained in the sacraments themselves.⁽⁹⁾ The forerunners of the Reformation, *e. g.*, *Wessel* and *Wycliffe*, combated still more decidedly the doctrine, that the effects of the sacrament are produced *ex opere operato*, while they manifested the highest reverence for the sacraments themselves as Divine institutions.⁽¹⁰⁾ Thus they preserved the right medium between that superstitious, and mere external mode of perception, by which the sacrament was changed, as it were, into a charm, and the fanatical, internal mode of perception adopted by the pantheistic sects, who proudly rejected all visible pledges and seals of supernatural blessings.⁽¹¹⁾

(1) On the question, in what sense the Old Testament may be said to have had its sacraments? see Peter Lombard, *Sent. Lib. iv. Dist. 1. E. :..... Veteris Testamenti sacramenta promittebant tantum et significabant, hæc autem (novi testamenti) dant salutem* (comp. the opinions of Augustine, *ibidem*). Inasmuch as the sacraments had become necessary, in consequence of sin, and God had instituted the sacrament of *matrimony* in Paradise itself, it was considered to be the earliest, because it belonged to the state of innocence. See Cramer vii. p. 103. Comp. Thomas Aquinas (in notes 4 and 5).

(2) “*The common tradition of the Church taught only the notion of a magic effect of the sacraments, and thus assigned too great an influence to the mere external and unspiritual form. On the contrary, the scholastics clearly perceived, that justification and sanctification are something essentially free, internal, and spiritual, and depend upon faith. These two notions being contradictory to each other, it became necessary to reconcile them, which was, for the most part, done by ingenious reasonings.*” Liebner, Hugo von St Victor p. 430.

(3) According to Hugo of St Victor, the design of the sacraments is threefold: 1. *Propter humiliationem* (we must submit

to the visible, in order to attain, *by it*, to the invisible) ; 2. Propter eruditionem (the visible leads to the invisible. Though a sick person may not see the medicine he is to take, he sees the bottle, which leads him to believe in the healing power which it contains, and inspires him with confidence and hope) ; 3. Propter exercitiationem (the inner and spiritual life of man is strengthened thereby.) The three persons of the Trinity take an active part in the administration of the sacraments. The Father (as the Creator) creates the elements ; the Son (as the Redeemer, God-man) institutes them ; and the Holy Ghost sanctifies them (through grace.) Man, as the instrument of God, distributes them. God is the physician, man is the diseased person, the priest is the servant, or the messenger of God, the *grace* of God (not the sacrament) is the medicine, and the sacrament is the vessel in which it is contained. God could have saved man *without* sacraments, if he had chosen ; but since he has been pleased to institute them, it is the duty of man to submit to his arrangement ; nevertheless, God can still save without sacraments. If either time or place prevent man from receiving the sacraments, the *res* (*virtus*) sacramenti is sufficient ; for the thing itself is of more importance than the sign, faith is more important than water, etc., de Sacram: Lib. i. P. ix., c. 3-5. Liebner p. 430 ss.

(4) Thomas Aquinas Summ. P. iii. Qu. 60-65. (Extracts from it are given by Münscher edit. by von Cölln p. 192 ss.)

(5) Qu. 62. Art. 1. : *Necesse est dicere sacramenta novæ legis per aliquem modum gratiam causare.....Et dicendum est, quod duplex est causa agens, principalis et instrumentalis. Principalis quidem operatur per virtutem suæ formæ, cui assimilatur effectus, sicut ignis suo calore calefacit. Et hoc modo nihil potest causare gratiam nisi Deus, quia gratia nihil est aliud, quam quædam participata similitudo divinæ naturæ. Causa vero instrumentalis non agit per virtutem suæ formæ, sed solum per motum, quo movetur a principali agente. Unde effectus non assimilatur instrumento, sed principali agenti. Et hoc modo sacramenta novæ legis gratiam causant.—Art. 5 : Unde manifestum est, quod sacramenta ecclesiæ specialiter habent virtutem ex passione Christi, cujus virtus quodammodo nobis copulatur per susceptionem sacramentorum.—Art. 6 : Per fidem passionis Christi justificabantur antiqui patres, sicut et nos. Sacramenta autem ve-*

teris legis erant quædam illius fidei protestationes, inquantum significabant passionem Christi et effectus ejus. Sic ergo patet quod sacramenta veteris legis non habebant in se aliquam virtutem qua operarentur ad conferendam gratiam justificantem; sed solum significabant fidem per quam justificabantur.^a

(6) Innocent. III. in Decret. Greg. IX. L. iii. T. 42. c. 3: Et is qui fide ad baptismum accedit, *characterem* suscipit christianitatis impressum. Thomas P. iii. Qu. 63. Art. 2: Sacramenta novæ legis *characterem* imprimunt.—The Concilium Florentinum held under Pope Eugen IV. laid down the following canon (in Mansi T. xxxi. Col. 1054 ss.): Inter hæc Sacramenta tria sunt, Baptismus, Confirmatio et Ordo, quæ *characterem*, i. e. spirituale quoddam signum a cæteris distinctivum imprimunt in anima indelebile. *Unde in eadem persona non reiterantur.* Reliqua vero quatuor *characterem* non imprimunt et reiterationem admittunt. (Nevertheless a difference of opinion respecting the repetition of extreme unction, took place on the occasion of the death of Pope Pius ii.) Concerning the discussion which arose between the dying Pope and Laurentius Roverella, bishop of Ferrara, see Platina in Vita Pii ii. Compare below, § 199. note 3.

(7) The distinction between these two terms was best defined by *Gabriel Biel* in Sent. Lib. iv. Dist. 1. Qu. 3. (Münscher edit. by von Cölln p. 199.): Sacramentum dicitur conferre gratiam ex opere operato, ita quod ex eo ipso quod opus illud, puta sacramentum, exhibetur, nisi impediatur obex peccati mortalis, gratia confertur utentibus, sic quod præter exhibitionem signi foris exhibiti non requiritur bonus motus interior in suscipiente. Ex opere operante vero dicuntur Sacramenta conferre gratiam per modum *meriti*, quod scilicet sacramentum foris exhibitum non sufficit ad gratiæ collationem, sed ultra hoc requiritur bonus motus seu devotio interior in suscipiente, secundum cujus intentio-

^a "The notion that the sacraments of the Old Testament had only prevented the Divine grace, but not communicated it, was rejected by John Bonaventura and Scotus, after the opposite doctrine had previously been propounded by the Venerable Bede; it was, however, confirmed by Pope Eugen IV. at the Council of Florence." Münscher ed. by von Cölln p. 187. (the proofs are given *ibid.* p. 198-99.) The doctrine was then established, that the sacraments of the Old Testament had produced effects *ex opere operantis*, those of the New Testament *ex opere operato*. Comp. Engelhardt, Dogmengeschichte, p. 197-98. note.

nem confertur gratia, tanquam meriti condigni vel congrui, præcise, et non major propter exhibitionem sacramenti. (This latter view was also that of Scotus.)

(⁸) Thom. l. c. qu. 64. Art. 5 :...Ministri ecclesiæ possunt sacramenta conferre, etiamsi sint mali.—Art. 9 : Sicut non requiritur ad perfectionem sacramenti quod minister sit in charitate, sed possunt etiam peccatores sacramenta conferre, ita non requiritur ad perfectionem sacramenti fides ejus : sed infidelis potest verum sacramentum præbere, dummodo cætera adsint quæ sunt de necessitate sacramenti. Concerning the intentio, compare ibidem and Art. 10. Münscher edit by von Cölln p. 196. Cramer vii. p. 712–13.

(⁹) Compare note 7.

(¹⁰) Wycliffe handled the doctrine of the sacraments very severely. Trial. Lib. iv. c. 1 ss. In his opinion, a thousand other things (in their quality of rerum sacrarum signa) might be called sacraments with quite as much propriety as the seven sacraments... Multa dicta in ista materia habent nimis debile fundamentum, et propter aggregationem ac institutionem in terminis difficile est loquentibus habere viam inpugnabilem veritatis... Non enim video quin quælibet creatura sensibilis sit realiter sacramentum, quia signum a Deo institutum ut rem sacram insensibilem significet, cujusmodi sunt creator et creatio et gratia creatoris. Comp. c. 25. where he designated the ceremonies which had been added to the sacraments, inventions of Antichrist, by which he had imposed a heavy burden upon the Church. *Wessel* expressed himself in milder terms on this point ; he did not altogether disapprove of certain external additions (*Chrisma*), since it is out of reverence that the Church has surrounded the sacraments with greater pomp ; but, concerning their effects, he opposed the doctrine which would represent them as being produced ex opere operato, and he made salvation depend on the disposition of him who receives the sacrament ; de commun. Sanct. p. 817. *Ullmann* p. 322–23.

(¹¹) *Mosheim* l. c. p. 257 : dicunt, se credere, quod quilibet Laicus bonus potest conficere corpus Christi, sicut sacerdos peccator. Item, quod sacerdos, postquam exiit se sacris vestibus, est sicut saccus evacuatus frumento. Item, quod corpus Christi æqualiter est in quolibet pane, sicut in pane sacramentali. Item, quod con-

fiteri sacerdoti non est necessarium ad salutem. Item, quod corpus Christi vel sacramentum Eucharistiæ sumere per Laicum, tantum valet pro liberatione animæ defuncti, sicut celebratio Missæ a sacerdote ; item, quod omnis concubitus matrimonialis præter illum, in quo speratur bonum prolis, sit peccatum.—Comp. Berthold's Sermons, edited by Kling p. 308, 309.

§ 191.

BAPTISM.

The scholastics exhibited more acuteness and originality in their discussions on the Lord's Supper, than in their inquiries into the doctrine of Baptism, where they confined themselves rather to particular points. In adherence to the allegorical system of Cyprian, they adopted the mystical interpretation of the water, as the liquid element, but exercised their ingenuity and fondness for subtile distinctions in pedantic definitions concerning the fluids to be used at the performance of the rite of baptism.⁽¹⁾ The baptism of blood was as well known during the present period as in preceding ages, with this difference only, that it was performed by those who inflicted tortures upon themselves (Flagellantes) instead of by martyrs.⁽²⁾ The baptism of water may be administered by none but priests, except in cases of necessity.⁽³⁾ The doctrine of infant baptism had long been regarded by the Church as a settled point ; *Peter of Bruis*, however, and some mystical sects, spoke of it in a contemptible way.⁽⁴⁾ As infants, the subjects of baptism could not enter into any engagement themselves, an engagement was made for them by their godfathers and godmothers, according to the principle of Augustine : credit in altero, qui peccavit in altero.⁽⁵⁾ Infant baptism was supposed to re-

move original sin, but it did not take away the concupiscentia (*lex fomitis*), though it lessened it by means of the grace imparted by the act of baptism.⁽⁶⁾ In the case of grown up persons who are baptised, baptism effects not only the pardon of sins formerly committed, but it also imparts, according to Peter Lombard, assisting grace to perform virtuous actions.⁽⁷⁾ The assertion of Thomas Aquinas, that children also obtained that grace,⁽⁸⁾ was confirmed by Pope Clement V. at the Synod of Vienne (A. D. 1311).⁽⁹⁾

⁽¹⁾ Compare Cramer vii. p. 715 ss. Peter Lombard taught, *Sent. Lib. iv. Dist. 3. G* : non in alio liquore potest consecrari baptismus nisi in aqua ; others, however, thought that the rite of baptism might also be performed with air, sand, or soil. (*Schmid, J. A., de baptismo per arenam. Helmst. 1697. 4.*) Various opinions obtained concerning the question, whether beer, broth, fish-sauce, mead or honey-water, lye or rose-water, might be used instead of pure water. See *Meiners and Spittlers neues Göttingisches historisches Magazin. Vol. iii. part 2. 1793. 8.* (reprinted from *Holderi dubietatibus circa Baptismum.*) Augusti, *theologische Blätter. Vol. i. p. 170 ss.* and his *Archæologie vii. p. 206 ss.* The scholastics carried their absurdities so far, as to start the question : *quid faciendum, si puer urinaret (stercorizaret) in fontem ?* A distinction was also made between *aqua artificialis, naturalis, and usualis.* Many other useless and unprofitable contentions took place about the baptismal formulas ; see Holder l. c.—*Sprinkling* also (instead of dipping) gave rise to many discussions. Thomas Aquinas preferred the more ancient custom (*Summa P. iii. Qu. 66. Art. 6.*), because dipping reminded Christians of the *burial* of Christ : but he did not think it absolutely necessary. From the thirteenth century, sprinkling came into more general use in the West. The Greek Church, however, and the Church of Milano, still retained the practice of immersion ; see Augusti, *Archæologie vii. p. 229 ss.*^a—On the question,

^a Various regulations concerning the right performance of baptism may also be found in Berthold's *Sermons* p. 442. 43. Thus it is there said : " Young people ought not to baptize children for fun or mockery ; nor ought foolish people to push a Jew into the water contrary to his wishes. Such doings are not valid."

whether it was necessary to dip once, or thrice, see Holder l. c. (he has collected many more instances of the ingenuity and acuteness of the casuists in reference to all possible difficulties.)

⁽²⁾ Thomas Aquinas, Qu. 66. Art. 11.....præter baptismum aquæ potest aliquis consequi sacramenti effectum ex passione Christi, in quantum quis ei conformatur pro Christo patiendo.—Concerning the Flagellantes, see *Förstemann*, die christlichen Geisslergesellschaften. Halle. 1828.

⁽³⁾ Peter Lombard, Sent. iv. Dist. 6. A. (after the example of Isidore of Spain): Constat baptismum solis sacerdotibus esse traditum ejusque ministerium nec ipsis diaconis implere est licitum absque episcopo vel presbytero, nisi his procul absentibus, ultima languoris cogat necessitas: quod etiam laïcis fidelibus permittitur.—Compare Gratian. in Decret. de Consecrat. Dist. 4. c. 19.—Thomas Aquinas Summ. P. iii. Qu. 67. Art 1–6. (The further definitions belong to the province of canonical law.)

⁽⁴⁾ Comp. Petr. Ven. Cluniacensis adv. Petrobrusianos in Bibl. PP. max. Lugd. T. xxii. p. 1033.—The Paulicians, Bogomiles, Cathari, etc. opposed infant baptism; several of these sects (*e. g.* the Cathari) rejected the baptism by water altogether. Comp. *Moneta*, advers. Catharos et Waldenses. Lib. v. c. i. p. 277 ss. Münscher edit. by von Cölln p. 209. 10.

⁽⁵⁾ Comp. Vol. i. §. 137. note 6. p. 366. Peter Lombard Sent. L. iv. Dist. 6. G. Thomas Aqu. Qu. 68. Art. 9: Regeneratio spiritualis quæ fit per baptismum est quodammodo similis natiuitati carnali, quantum ad hoc, quod, sicut pueri in maternis uteris constituti non per se ipsos nutrimentum accipiunt, sed ex nutrimento matris sustentantur, ita etiam pueri nondum habentes usum rationis, quasi in utero matris ecclesiæ constituti, non per se ipsos, sed per actum ecclesiæ salutem suscipiunt.—The regulations concerning the ecclesiastical relationship in which the godfathers and godmothers stand to each other, belong to the canonical law. Comp. Peter Lomb. L. iv. Dist. 42. Thom. Aqu. P. iii. in Supplem. Qu. 56. Art. 3.—Decretal. Greg. ix. L. iv. T. 11. Sexti Decretal. L. iv. T. 3.

⁽⁶⁾ Lomb. L. ii. Dist. 32. A. (in accordance with Augustine): Licet remaneat concupiscentia post baptismum, non tamen dominatur et regnat sicut ante: imo per gratiam baptismi mitigatur et minuitur, ut post dominari non valeat, nisi quis reddat vires

hosti eundo post concupiscentias. Nec post baptismum remanet ad reatum, quia non imputatur in peccatum, sed tantum pœna peccati est, ante baptismum vero pœna est et culpa. Compare that which follows. Thomas Aquinas Sum. P. ii. Qu. 81. Art. 3. : Peccatum originale per baptismum aufertur *reatu*, inquantum anima recuperat gratiam quantum ad mentem : remanet tamen peccatum originale *actu*, quantum ad *fomitum*, qui est inordinatio partium inferiorum animæ et ipsius corporis. Comp. P. iii. Qu. 27. Art. 3.

(7) Lomb. Lib. iv. Dist. Dist. 4. H. : De adultis enim, qui digne recipiunt sacramentum, non ambigitur, quin gratiam operantem et cooperantem perceperint.....De parvulis vero, qui nondum ratione utuntur, quæstio est an in baptismo receperint gratiam, qua ad majorem venientes ætatem possint velle et operari bonum. Videtur quod non receperint : quia gratia illa charitas est et fides, quæ voluntatem præparat et adjuvat. Sed quis dixerit eos accepisse fidem et charitatem ? Si vero gratiam non receperint, qua bene operari possint cum fuerint adulti, non ergo sufficit eis in hoc statu gratia in baptismo data, nec per illam possunt modo boni esse, nisi alia addatur, quæ si non additur, non est ex eorum culpa, quia justificati [al. non] sunt a peccato. Quidam putant gratiam operantem et cooperantem cunctis parvulis in baptismo dari in munere, non in usu, ut cum ad majorem venerint ætatem, ex munere sortiantur usum, nisi per liberum arbitrium usum muneris extinguant peccando, et ita ex culpa eorum est, non ex defectu gratiæ, quod mali fiunt.

(8) Thom. Aqu. Qu. 69. Art. 6. : Quia pueri, sicut et adulti, in baptismo efficiuntur membra Christi, unde necesse est quod a capite recipiant influxum gratiæ et virtutis.

(9) In Mansi T. xxv. Col. 411. Münscher ed. by von Cölln p. 203.

The repetition of the rite of baptism would not have been in accordance with the nature of that sacrament. But theologians differed in their opinions respecting the question, whether those who are prevented by circumstances from being baptized, may be saved? In opposition to earlier divines (such as Rabanus Maurus), later theologians, e. g. Bernard of Clairval, Peter Lombard, and Thomas Aquinas, maintained, that in such cases the *wish* alone was sufficient. Compare the passages quoted by Münscher edit. by von Cölln p. 205. 6.

§ 192.

CONFIRMATION.

Klee, Dogmengeschichte ii. p. 160-170.

Confirmation (*χρῖσμα*, confirmatio) had originally been connected with baptism, but was, in the course of time, separated from it not only as a particular rite, but also as a sacrament which the bishop alone could administer.⁽¹⁾ As the first motion to spiritual life is the effect of baptism, so its growth is promoted by the rite of confirmation. Its characteristic is vigour,⁽²⁾ and thus those who were made members of this spiritual knight-hood were smitten on the cheek.⁽³⁾ It is necessary that baptism should precede confirmation.⁽⁴⁾ Nor ought the latter rite to be performed without godfathers and godmothers.⁽⁵⁾ All these regulations were confirmed by Pope Eugen IV.⁽⁶⁾ But *Wycliffe* and *Huss* declared confirmation to be an abuse.⁽⁷⁾

⁽¹⁾ Compare Augusti, Archæologie vii. p. 401 ss.

⁽²⁾ Melchiades in Epist. ad Hisp. episcopos in Peter Lombard Sent. Lib. iv. Dist. 7. Thomas Aquinas Art. 6. and 7. quoted by Münscher edit. by von Cölln p. 211. 12. Bonavent. Brevil. P. vi. c. 8. quoted by Klee, Dogmengeschichte ii. p. 165.

⁽³⁾ According to Augusti (l. c. p. 450. 51.), this strange usage was not known previous to the thirteenth century; but Klee asserts (Dogmengesch. ii. p. 165.) that it existed as early as the eleventh century. At all events, it seems more likely that it had its origin in the customs of the Knights (as Klee supposes), than in certain rites which were observed when apprentices had served out their time (according to Augusti.) But the proper *element* of this sacrament was the *Chrisma confectum ex oleo olivarum*. Compare notes 2. and 6.

⁽⁴⁾ Thomas Aquinas l. c. : Character confirmationis ex necessi-

tate præsupponit characterem baptismalem etc. Confirmation, too, has a character indelebilis ; hence it is not to be repeated.

(⁵) Concerning the godfathers and godmothers, see Augusti l. c. p. 434. Thomas Aquinas Art. 10. Münscher edit. by von Cölln p. 214. The relation in which godfathers and godmothers stand to each other founds ecclesiastical relationship.

(⁶) Conc. Florent. Col. 1055. quoted by Münscher ed. by von Cölln p. 215.

(⁷) Trialog. Lib. iv. c. 14. Schröckh, Kircheng. xxxiv. p. 508. He doubted whether confirmation could be proved from Acts viii. 17. (as was generally supposed), and called it blasphemy, to maintain that bishops might again impart the Holy Spirit, which had already been imparted by baptism.—Huss Art. ii. apud Trithem. Chron. Hirsaug. ann. 1402. Klee l. c. p. 164.

§ 193.

THE LORD'S SUPPER.

1. *The Controversy respecting the Eucharist previous to the Rise of Scholasticism. Paschasius Radbert and Ratramnus. Berengar.*

Marheineke, (comp. vol. i. p. 197.) p. 66 ss.

The violent controversy between *Paschasius Radbert* and *Ratramnus*, which degenerated into the most obscene discussions, and gave rise to appellations not less offensive,⁽¹⁾ became the signal for new contests. The most eminent theologians of the age, such as *Rabanus Maurus*,⁽²⁾ and *Scotus Erigena*,⁽³⁾ took an active part in that controversy. *Gerbert*, whose reputation was great in those days, endeavoured to illustrate the doctrine propounded by Paschasius, of a real change of the bread into the body of Christ, by the aid of geometrical diagrams.⁽⁴⁾ It had been so generally adopted, as the

orthodox doctrine, towards the middle of the eleventh century, that *Berengar*, Canon of Tours, and afterwards Archdeacon at Angers, who ventured to express doubts concerning its orthodoxy in a letter addressed to *Lanfranc*, was condemned, and obliged by several synods (at Vercelli and Rome 1050—1079) to retract. He would have suffered still more, if Pope Gregory VII. had not succeeded in protecting him against the rage of his enemies.⁽⁵⁾ Berengar, however, was far from rejecting that more spiritual mode of perception which does not rest satisfied with the notion of a mere sign. Nor did he take offence at the use of the phrase, “to partake of the body and blood of Christ,” but he explained it in a more or less spiritual manner.⁽⁶⁾ On the other hand, Cardinal *Humbert* was carried so far by his violent zeal, as to interpret the phrase in question in the grossest manner.⁽⁷⁾ Thus it became impossible to adopt any moderate view, and later theologians found little more to do than to conceal the more objectionable aspect of the doctrine by skilful argumentations, and to surround the impenetrable mystery, as it were, with a hedge of syllogisms, as we see exemplified in the scholastic distinction made by Lanfranc between the Subject and the Accidents.⁽⁸⁾

⁽¹⁾ As early as the times of Charlemagne, theologians seemed agreed, that, in the bread and the wine of the Lord's Supper, we have to adore more than *mere* signs (de impio imaginum cultu Lib. vi. c. 14. p. 491.), though we also meet with passages in which the *figurative* signification of the elements is spoken of. Compare Münscher edit. by von Cölln p. 225. But the true doctrine of transubstantiation was first propounded by *Paschasius Radbert* (monachus Corbeiensis) in his liber de corpore et sanguine Domini (addressed to the Emperor Charles the Bald, between the years 830 and 832.) See Martène and Durand, T. ix. Col. 367–470, and extracts from it in Rössler, x. p. 616 ss. He

proceeded from the omnipotence of God, to whom all things are possible, and consequently maintained ii. 2. : *sensibilis res intelligibiliter virtute Dei per verbum Christi in carnem ipsius ac sanguinem divinitus transfertur*. He looked upon the elements as no more than a veil which deceives our senses, and keeps the body of Christ concealed from us : *Figura videtur esse dum frangitur, dum in specie visibili aliud intelligitur quam quod visu carnis et gustu sentitur*. It is the same body which was born of Mary. At times the true body of Christ has appeared to those who doubted (in order to encourage them), as well as to those who were strong in the faith (in order to reward them), instead of the bread, (for the most part in the form of a lamb), or stains of blood have been perceived, etc.^a He was opposed by *Ratramnus* (Bertramnus) in his treatise : *de corpore et sanguine Domini ad Carolum Calvum* (it was written at the request of the emperor; extracts from it are given by Schröckh xxiii. p. 445. Neander iv. p. 466 ss. and Münscher edit. by von Cölln p. 230–35.) Ratramnus properly distinguished between the sign, and the thing represented by it (*figura et veritas*), the internal and the external, and pointed out the true significance of the *mysteries*, which consists in this, that through their medium the mind of man rises from the visible to the invisible. If it were possible to eat the body of Christ, in the proper sense of the word, no faith would be any more required, and the mystery, as such, would lose all its significance. The gross reality would destroy the idea, and nothing but a mere materialism would remain. Ratramnus also supposed a *conversio* of the bread and wine into the body of Christ, but only in the ideal sense of the word, as the ancients supposed a transition from the profane to the pure. He also appealed to the authority of earlier writers. Respecting the later appellation, *Stercoranists* (according to Matth xv. 17.), which has its origin in these discussions, see Paschasius, c. 20. 2. Schröckh xxiii. p. 493 ss. and *Pfaff*. C. M., *Tractatus de Stercoranistis mediæ ævi*. Tub. 1750. 4^o.^b

^a Concerning such miraculous appearances, compare also Bossuet, edited by Cramer v. 2. p. 105.

^b A controversy of quite as unprofitable a nature was carried on between *Amalarius* (who composed a liturgical work about the year 820), and the priest *Guntrad*, concerning spitting during the celebration of the mass; see d'Achery, *Spicil. T. iii.* in Schröckh, *Kirchengesch.* xxiii. p. 496.

(²) The treatise of Rabanus addressed to Egilo, abbot of Prum, was professedly edited by Mabillon (*Acta SS. T. vi.*); but both Münscher ed. by von Cölln p. 229., and Neander, *Kirchengesch.* iv. 1. p. 91. deny the genuineness of that edition. The real opinion of Rabanus may be inferred from the following passage (*de instit. cleric. i. c. 31. and iii. 13. quoted by Gieseler ii. 1. p. 100. § 14. note d., and Münscher ed. by von Cölln l. c.*): *Maluit enim Dominus corporis et sanguinis sui sacramenta fidelium ore percipi, et in pastum eorum redigi, ut per visibile opus invisibilis ostenderetur effectus. Sicut enim cibus materialis forinsecus nutrit corpus et vegetat, ita etiam verbum Dei intus animam nutrit et roborat.... Sacramentum ore percipitur, virtute sacramenti interior homo satiatur. Sacramentum in alimentum corporis redigitur, virtute autem sacramenti æterna vita adipiscitur.*

(³) This was, at least, the common opinion (compare the letter of Berengar to Lanfranc.) It is, however, uncertain, whether the treatise (*de eucharistia*) commonly ascribed to Scotus, which was condemned by the Synod of Vercelli (A. D. 1050), is the same with another treatise ascribed to Ratramnus, or whether we have here two distinct treatises, the one of which is now lost. Both *P. de Marca* (*Epist. ad d'Acherium*) and *F. W. Lauf.* (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1828. part 4. p. 755 ss.) asserted their identity; but the former ascribed the authorship to Scotus, the latter to Ratramnus. Compare also *Neander* p. 471; he thinks it probable, that Scotus gave his opinion on the subject in question, though the notion of a lost treatise written by him may have arisen from a mistake. To judge from some passages contained in his treatise *de div. nat.* (quoted by Neander l. c.), he would not have given countenance to the doctrine propounded by Paschasius.

(⁴) *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, edited by *Pez*, in *Thesaur. anecd. noviss. T. i. P. ii. f. 133.* Schröckh xxiii. p. 493.^a

(⁵) On the external history of the controversy see: *Mabillon*, *J. dissert. de multiplici Berengarii damnatione, fidei professione et relapsu, deque ejus pœnitentia*, in *J. Vogtii Biblioth. hære-*

^a Gerbert's method of illustrating such supernatural truths by ocular demonstration, was imitated even by later theologians. Thus Melancthon informs us, that his tutor, *Lempus* at Tübingen, had drawn the transubstantiation on a board (*Ep. de suis studiis* written A. D. 1541. See *Galle*, *Melancthon*, p. 6.)

siolog. Hamb. 1723. T. i. Fasc. i. p. 99 ss. Schröckh xxiii. p. 507 ss. Neander, iv. p. 476 ss.; and Gieseler ii. 1. p. 234 ss. § 29. *Sources from which his opinions may be ascertained*, are: the Epistola of his school fellow Adelmann de veritate corp. et sang. Domini ad Berengarium (which he wrote previous to his nomination as Bishop of Brixen in Tyrol, A. D. 1049), edited by *J. Coster*, Lovan 1551. Biblioth. P. P. T. xviii., and by *Schmidt*, Brunsv. 1770. 8. Hugonis Lingonensis Lib. de corpore et sanguine Dom. (d'Achery in Opp. Lanfranci. Append. p. 68 ss. Biblioth. P. P. T. xviii. p. 417 ss.)—Lanfrancus de Corp. et Sang. Dom. adversus Berengar. Turonens. (which was composed between the years 1063 and 70), in Opp. ed. L. d'Achery, Lutet. 1648, and Biblioth. P. P. T. xviii. p. 763-777. This work also contains the *first* treatise which Berengar wrote in opposition to Lanfranc, from which we have to distinguish his second: Liber de sacra cœna advers. Lanfrancum (edited by Stäudlin in 6 programmes. Gött. 1820-29. 4.) Comp. *Lessing*, *Gotth. Ephr.*, Berengarius Turonensis. Braunschweig 1770. 4. (in the edition of his complete works publ. Berlin, 1825 ss. vol. xii. p. 143 ss.) Stäudlins and Tzschirners Archiv für Kirchengeschichte, vol. ii. part i. p. 1-98. “Berengarii Turonensis quæ supersunt tam edita quam inedita, typis expressa, moderante A. Neandro T. i. Berol. 1834. (Berengarii de sacra cœna adv. Lanfrancum liber posterior, e codice Guelferbytano primum ediderunt A. F. et F. Th. Vischer. ibid. 1834.) A more detailed account of the literature is given by Gieseler l. c. *Leading historical facts*: The first condemnation of Berengar, A. D. 1050, at Rome, under Pope Leo X., without an opportunity of defence. The repetition of the sentence passed upon him at Vercelli in the same year. On the supposed council of Paris see Neander l. c. p. 491.—Council at Tours (A. D. 1054.)—Berengar's justification with the assistance of Hildebrand.—Another council at Rome (A. D. 1059.)—The violent conduct of Humbert.—The inconstancy manifested by Berengar in this matter.—Correspondence with Lanfranc.—Other synods at Rome (A. D. 1078 and 1079.)—Berengar again submitted to sign the confession of faith drawn up by his enemies, but retracted afterwards.—The litteræ commendatitiæ of Pope Gregory VII.—Berengar's death on the isle of St Côme near Tours, A. D. 1088.

(6) Berengar combated principally the doctrine of an entire

change, in such a manner as to make the bread cease to be bread, and to have nothing left but the accidents, while in reality a portion of *tiuncula carnis* was eaten instead of bread. In accordance with the earlier Fathers he retained the doctrine of a change from an inferior to a superior, and of the mystical participation of the body of Christ under the figure of bread, p. 67. (Edit. Vischer): Dum enim dicitur : panis et vinum sacramenta sunt, minime panis aufertur et vinum, et nominibus rerum ita natarum significativis aptatur nomen, quod non nata sunt, ut est : sacramentum ; simul etiam esse aliud aliquid minime prohibentur, sunt enim, *sicut secundum religionem sacramenta, ita secundum aliud alimenta, sustentamenta*. The subject, of which anything is predicated, must *remain the same*, otherwise that which is predicated would have no meaning ; p. 71. : Dum dicitur : panis in altari consecratur vel panis sanctus, panis sacrosanctus est Christi corpus, omni veritate panis superesse conceditur. Verbi gratia, si enuntias : Socrates justus est, aliquid eum esse constituisti, nec potest justus esse, si contingat, Socratem non esse, p. 76. : Sicut enim, qui dicit : Christus est lapis angularis, non revera Christum lapidem esse constituit, sed propter aliquam similitudinem, quam ad se invicem gerunt, tale nomen ei imponit, eodem modo, cum divina pagina corpus domini panem vocat, sacrata ac mystica locutione id agit. p. 86. : Quando autem afferuntur ad altare vel ponuntur in altari, adhuc sunt, ut ait beatus Augustinus contra Faustum, alimenta refectionis, nondum sacramenta religionis, (h)ac per hoc, nondum corpus Christi et sanguis existentia, non tropica, sed propria sunt locutione pendenda. Dicens ergo Humbertus ille tuus, panem, qui ponitur in altari, post consecrationem esse corpus Christi, panem propria locutione, corpus Christi tropica accipiendum esse constituit, et illud quidem recte, quia ex auctoritate scripturarum.—p. 90 : Dicitur autem in scripturis panis altaris de pane fieri corpus Christi, sicut servus malus dicitur fieri de malo servo bonus filius, non quia amiserit animæ propriæ naturam aut corporis.—p. 91 : Unde insanissimum dictum erat et christianæ religioni contumeliosissimum, corpus Christi de pane vel de quocunque confici per generationem subjecti.....ut pane absumto per corruptionem subjecti corpus Christi esse incipiat per generationem subjecti, quia nec pro parte, nec pro toto potest incipere nunc esse corpus Christi.—p. 95 : Novit autem revera

secundum carnem Christum, qui Christi corpus asserit adhuc esse corruptioni vel generationi obnoxium, vel quarumcunque qualitatum vel collineationum, quas prius non habuerit, susceptivum.—p. 98 : Denique verbum caro factum assumsit quod non erat, non amittens quod erat, et panis consecratus in altari amisit vilitatem, amisit inefficaciam, non amisit naturæ proprietatem, cui naturæ quasi loco, quasi fundamento dignitas divinitus augetur et efficacia. (A comparison is drawn between the change in question, and the change of the name Saul into that of Paul, p. 144.)—p. 161 : Est ergo vera procul dubio panis et vini per consecrationem altaris conversio in corpus Christi et sanguinem, sed attendendum, quod dicitur : *per consecrationem*, quia hic est hujus conversionis modus etc.....p. 163 : Per consecrationem, inquam, quod nemo interpretari poterit : per subjecti corruptionem.—p. 167 : Sed quomodo manducandus est Christus ? Quomodo ipse dicit : qui manducat carnem meam et bibit sanguinem meum, in me manet et ego in eo ; si in me manet, et ego in illo, tunc manducat, tunc bibit ; qui autem non in me manet, nec ego in illo, etsi accipit sacramentum, acquirit magnum tormentum.—p. 171 : Apud eruditos enim constat, et eis, qui vecordes non sint, omnino est perceptibile, nulla ratione colorem videri, nisi contingat etiam coloratum videri. Ita enim scribit Lanfrancus, colorem et qualitates portiunculæ carnis Christi, quam sensualiter esse in altari desipit, videri oculis corporis, ut tamen caro illa, cujus color videtur, omnino sit invisibilis, cum constet, omne quod in subjecto est, sicut, ut sit, ita etiam, ut videatur, non a se habere, sed a subjecto, in quo sit, nec visu vel sensu aliquo corporeo comprehendi colorem vel qualitatem, nisi comprehenso quali et colorato.—p. 188 : Rerum exteriorum est, panis et vini est, confici, consecrari ; hæc incipere possunt esse, quod non erant, corpus Christi et sanguis, sed per consecrationem, non per corruptionem panis et vini et generationem corporis Christi et sanguinis, quæ constat semel potuisse generari.—p. 191 : Verissimum est nec ulla tergiversatione dissimulari potest, aliud esse totum corpus Christi, quod ante mille annos sibi fabricavit in utero virginis sapientia Dei, aliud portiunculam carnis, quam tu tibi facis de pane per corruptionem panis ipsius hodie factam in altari per generationem ipsius carnis.—Further passages are quoted by Gieseler ii. 1. p. 235 ss. Münscher ed. by von Cölln p. 242 ss.

Comp. especially his confession of faith made (though with reservation) at the Synod of Rome (A. D. 1078), in Mansi xix. p. 761. Gieseler p. 250. § 29. note s. : *Profiteor, panem altaris post consecrationem esse verum corpus Christi, quod natum est de virgine, quod passum est in cruce, quod sedet ad dexteram Patris, et vinum altaris, postquam consecratum est, esse verum sanguinem, qui manavit de latere Christi.*^a Et sicut ore pronuncio, ita me corde habere confirmo ; sic me adjuvet Deus et hæc sacra.

(7) According to the confession of faith imposed by Humbert upon Berengar at the Synod of Rome (A. D. 1059), he was to take an oath, in the name of the Holy Trinity, that he believed : *panem et vinum, quæ in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem non solum sacramentum, sed etiam verum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi esse, et sensualiter, non solum sacramento, sed in veritate manibus sacerdotum tractari, frangi et fidelium dentibus atteri* ; he retracted, however, as soon as he had obtained his liberty.

(8) The doctrine of *Lanfranc*, though propounded in less rigid terms than that of Humbert, was, nevertheless, opposed to the mode of perception adopted by Berengar, and rendered impossible any further attempt at a return to a symbolizing or spiritualizing interpretation. He taught (l. c. c. 18. p. 772. quoted by Münscher edit. by von Cölln p. 244.) : *Credimus terrenas substantias, quæ in mensa dominica per sacerdotale ministerium divinitus sanctificantur, ineffabiliter, incomprehensibiliter, mirabiliter, operante superna potentia, converti in essentiam dominici corporis, reservatis ipsarum rerum speciebus et quibusdam aliis qualitatibus, ne percipientes cruda et cruenta horrerent, et ut credentes fidei præmia ampliora perciperent : ipso tamen dominico corpore existente in cœlestibus ad dexteram Patris, immortalis, inviolato, integro, incontaminato, illæso : ut vere dici possit, et ipsum corpus quod de Virgine sumtum est nos sumere, et tamen non ipsum. Ipsum quidem, quantum ad essentiam veræque naturæ proprietatem atque naturam ; non ipsum, autem, si spectes panis vini que speciem cætera que superius comprehensa. Hanc fidem tenuit a priscis temporibus et nunc tenet ecclesia, quæ per totum effusa orbem*

^a Only in so far it may be said that the bread of the Lord's Supper is no bread, as Christ says, my doctrine is not mine, but his who sent me ; or Paul : I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me. Comp. p. 178.

catholica nominatur. (To this last view Berengar opposed proofs drawn from the writings of Ambrose and Augustine, in the treatise above mentioned. Comp. note 6.)

§ 194.

2. *The Scholastic Developement of the Doctrine. Transubstantiation. The Sacrifice of the Mass.*

A word is often of great consequence! *Hilebert of Tours* was the first who made use of the high-sounding term "*transubstantiatio*,"⁽¹⁾ while similar phrases, such as *transitio*, had previously been employed.⁽²⁾ Most of the earlier scholastics,⁽³⁾ and the disciples of Lanfranc in particular, had defended both the doctrine of the change of the bread into the body of Christ, and that of the *accidentia sine subjecto*, which were now solemnly confirmed, inasmuch as they were not only inserted (*together with* the terms referred to) in the *Decretum Gratiana*,⁽⁴⁾ but also made an article of faith by Pope Innocent III.⁽⁵⁾ Thus nothing was left to the later scholastics, but to answer still more subtle questions, such as : in what respect can it be said that the body of Christ is actually broken together with the bread?⁽⁶⁾ Do animals partake of the body of Christ, when they happen to swallow a consecrated host?⁽⁷⁾ Is the bread used in the Lord's Supper changed only into the flesh of our Lord, or also into his blood? (the doctrine of what is called *concomitance*.)⁽⁸⁾ Is the bread, in the former case, changed only into the flesh of Christ, or also into his body and soul, or into his divinity itself, or even into the Holy Trinity.⁽⁹⁾ Does the change take place gradually, or suddenly?⁽¹⁰⁾ Does only one body exist in the multitude of hosts, so that the same Christ is

sacrificed at the same time upon all altars, which constitutes the mystery of the mass?⁽¹⁾ By the institution of the Corpus-Christi-day by Pope Urban IV. (A. D. 1264), and Pope Clement V. (A. D. 1311), at the Synod of Vienne, the doctrine in question was expressed in a liturgical form, and its popularity secured.⁽²⁾ Henceforth the sacrifice of the mass formed more than ever the centre of the catholic ritual,⁽³⁾ and reflected new glory upon the priesthood. Nevertheless many pious minds found a powerful excitement and motive in the idea of the special presence of the Redeemer, and the daily repetition of his sacrifice, as well as in that of the mystical union with him in the act of communion. Thus it became here again the task of the idealistic mystics to spiritualize, by inward contemplation, that which the scholastics had brought down into the circle of the external and earthly.⁽⁴⁾

⁽¹⁾ In Sermo vi. Opp. Col. 689. Comp. Sermo v. in Cœna Domini. Opp. Col. 422. and de Sacram. Altaris Opp. Col. 1106. quoted by Münscher edit. by von Cölln p. 249. 50.

⁽²⁾ Thus by Hugo of St Victor, see Liebner p. 455 ss.

⁽³⁾ *Anselm*, a disciple of Lanfranc, followed the example of his master in his tractatus bipartitus de corpore et sanguine Domini, sive de sacramento altaris. (Disputatio dialectica de grammatico P. ii.) P. i. :.....Sicut in mensa nuptiali aqua in vinum mutata solum adfuit vinum, in quod aqua mutata erat : sic in mensa altaris solum adest corpus Domini, in quod vere mutata est vera panis substantia, nisi, quod de aqua nihil remansit in mutatione illa : de pane vero mutato, ad peragendum sacri institutum mysterii, sola remanet species visibilis. (He expressly condemns the heretical doctrine of Berengar.) Yet we ought not to think of the transaction as something miraculous : Nihil enim falsum factum putandum est in sacrificio veritatis, sicut fit in magorum præstigiis, ubi delusione quadam falluntur oculi, ut videatur illis esse, quod non est omnino. Sed vera species visibilis panis, quæ fuit in pane, ipsa facta præter substantiam suam quodammodo in

aliena peregrinatur, continente eum, qui fecit eam et ad suum transferente corpus. Quæ tamen translata ad corpus Domini, non eo modo se habet ad illud, quomodo accidens ad substantiam : quia corpus Domini in substantia sua, nec album efficit albedo illa, nec rotundum rotunditas, sicque de reliquis.—Nor ought we to rest satisfied with the mere carnal participation. P. ii. c. 12 : Et cum de altari sumimus carnem Jesu, caremus solícite, ne cogitatione remaneamus in carne, et a spiritu non vivificemur, quod si non vivificamur a spiritu, caro non prodest quicquam etc. (comp. note 13.) The principles of Lanfranc were also adopted by *Durandus* Abbas Troarnensis ; he died A. D. 1088) de corp. et sang. Domini c. Bereng. (in Bibl. PP. max. T. xviii. p. 419. Galland. T. xiv. p. 245) and *Guitmundus* (Archiepisc. Aversanus) de Corporis et Sanguinis Christi veritate in Eucharistia. libr. iii. (in Bibl. PP. max. T. xviii. p. 441.) *Eusebius Bruno* (bishop of Anjou), whom Durandus numbered among the followers of Berengar, endeavoured to put a stop to all discussions concerning the sacrament in question (see Münscher edit. by von Cölln p. 247. 48.)—But in vain ! The theory of Paschasius and Lanfranc gained the victory. *Hugo of St Victor* himself called the few advocates of Berengar's doctrine "perverters of Scripture," and distinctly opposed the mere symbolical interpretation, though he would have retained it together with the real (see Liebner p. 453 ss.)—*Peter Lombard* appealed Sent. Lib. iv. Dist. 10. D. to (Pseudo-) Ambrose de initiand. mysteriis (Vol. i. p. 370.) : Ex his (continues he) aliisque pluribus constat, verum corpus Christi et sanguinem in altari esse, immo integrum Christum ibi sub utraque specie et substantiam panis in corpus vinique substantiam in sanguinem converti.—But he confesses his inability to explain the *mode* of that change, Dist. xi. A. : Si autem quaeritur, qualis sit illa conversio, an formalis, an substantialis, vel alterius generis, deffinire non sufficio. Formalem tamen non esse cognosco, quia species rerum, quæ ante fuerant, remanent, et sapor et pondus. Quibusdam esse videtur substantialis, dicentibus sic substantiam converti in substantiam, ut hæc essentialiter fiat illa, cui sensui præmissæ auctoritates consentire videntur.—B : Sed huic sententiæ sic opponitur ab aliis : Si substantia panis, inquit, vel vini convertitur substantialiter in corpus vel sanguinem Christi, quotidie fit aliqua substantia corpus vel sanguis

Christi, quæ ante non erat corpus, et hodie est aliquid corpus Christi, quod heri non erat, et quotidie augetur corpus Christi atque formatur de materia, de qua in conceptione non fuit factum. Quibus hoc modo responderi potest, quia non ea ratione dicitur corpus Christi confici verbo cœlesti, quod ipsum corpus in conceptu virginis formatum deinceps formetur: sed quia substantia panis vel vini, quæ ante non fuerunt corpus Christi vel sanguis, verbo cœlesti fit corpus et sanguis. Et ideo *sacerdotes dicuntur conficere corpus Christi et sanguinem*, quia eorum ministerio substantia panis fit caro, et substantia vini fit sanguis Christi, nec tamen aliquid additur corpori vel sanguini, nec augetur corpus Christi vel sanguis.—C: Si vero quæris modum, quo id fieri possit, breviter respondeo: *Mysterium fidei credi salubriter potest, investigari salubriter non potest.* Comp. Dist. xii. A: Si autem quæritur de accidentibus, quæ remanent, *i. e.* de speciebus et sapore et pondere, in quo subjecto fundentur, potius mihi videtur fatendum existere sine subjecto quam esse in subjecto, quia ibi non est substantia, nisi corporis et sanguinis dominici, quæ non afficitur illis accidentibus. Non enim corpus Christi talem habet in se formam, sed qualis in iudicio apparebit. Remanent ergo illa accidentia per se subsistentia ad mysterii ritum, ad gustus fideique suffragium: quibus corpus Christi, habens formam et naturam suam, tegitur.

[⁽⁴⁾ The Decretum Gratiani was a “Concordia discordantium canonum in Lib. iii.” composed about the year 1150 by *Gratianus*, a Benedictine monk, which was also called *Codex decretorum*, *Decreta Gratiani*, and more frequently *Decretum Grat.* See Gieseler l. c. ii. 2. §. 60. note c. Hallam’s *Middle Ages*, ii. p. 2. 8th Ed.]

[⁽⁵⁾ Conc. Lat. iv. c. i. (quoted by Münscher edit. by von Cölln p. 251.): *Una est fidelium universalis ecclesia, extra quam nullas omnino salvatur. In qua idem ipse sacerdos est sacrificium Jesus Christus, cujus corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur, transsubstantiatis pane in corpus et vino in sanguinem, potestate divina, ut ad perficiendum mysterium unitatis accipiamus ipsi de suo, quod accepit ipse de nostro. Et hoc utique sacramentum nemo potest conficere nisi sacerdos, qui rite fuerit ordinatus, secundum claves ecclesiæ, quas ipse concessit Apostolis eorumque successoribus*

Jesus Christus. Pope Innocent III. himself maintained, de *Mysteriis Missæ*. l. iv. c. 7 : non solum accidentales, sed etiam naturales proprietates remanere : *paneitatem*, quæ satiando famem expellit et *vineitatem*, quæ satiando sitim expellit.

(⁶) Thomas Aquinas *Summ. P.* iii. Qu. 75. Art. 6. and 7. Qu. 76. Art. 3. made the assertion, that the body is broken only secundem speciem sacramentalem, but is itself incorruptibile et impassibile ; see the passages quoted by Münscher edit. by von Cölln p. 253. 54. Christ is wholly and undivided in every particle of the host. In the same way the consecrated wine remains the blood of Christ as long as it does not cease to be wine, though other liquids may be added. Fortunately these subtile definitions required only a fides implicita, but not explicita ; see Cramer vii. p. 728. 29. The theory of Thomas is more fully developed by Engelhardt, *Dogmengeschichte* ii. p. 214 ss. note.

(⁷) Peter Lombard started this question *Sent. Lib.* iv. Dist. 13. A., and decided : Illud sane dici potest, quod a brutis animalibus corpus Christi non sumitur etsi videatur. Quid ergo sumit mus vel quid manducat ? Deus novit hoc.—*Alexander Hales*, however, who lived about a century later, pretended to a better knowledge respecting this point (*Summæ P.* iv. Qu. 45. Membr. 1. Art. 1. and 2.) He took the affirmative side of the question, in support of which he asserted, that, if a *sinner* could receive the body of Christ, the same might be supposed, with much more propriety, in the case of an *innocent* animal : on the other hand, he professed to be aware that God abhors only the sin of the sinner, but not his human nature, which alone is susceptible of the beneficial effects of the sacrament. Nevertheless he was compelled to admit, that if a dog or a pig swallowed the unbroken host, the body of our Lord entered into the belly of the animal. Thomas Aquinas entertained similar views, *P.* iii. Qu. 80. Art. 3. : etiamsi mus vel canis hostiam consecratam manducet, substantia corporis Christi non desinit esse sub speciebus, quamdiu species illæ manent, hoc est quamdiu substantia panis maneret ; sicut etiam si projiceretur in lutum.—On the other hand, Bonaventura expressed himself with more propriety (after he had stated all that might be said for and against the doctrine) in *Comment. ad. Sent.* iv. Dist. 13. Art. 2. Qu. 1 : Quantumcunque hæc opinio muniatur, nunquam tamen ita munitur, *quamquam*

*ures piæ hoc abhorreant audire, quod in ventre muris vel in cloaca sit corpus Christi, quamdiu species ibi subsistunt. Propter hæc est alia opinio, quod corpus Christi nullo modo descendit in ventrem muris.....Et hæc opinio communior est, et certe honestior et rationabilior. Nevertheless this more appropriate and rational view was determined by the Synod of Paris, A. D. 1300, to be one of those articles, in quibus Magister sententiarum non tenetur (Münscher edit. by von Cölln p. 255.)—Thomas Aquinas however held, that an animal can partake of the body of Christ only accidentaliter, but not sacramentaliter; and Pope Innocent III. endeavoured (de myst. missæ iv. 21.) to get rid of all difficulties by supposing that the body of our Lord left the host in the same miraculous way in which it had entered it (re-conversio.) Compare *Wilhelm Holder's* satire: *mus exenteratus*, etc., published in the sixteenth century, in *Meiners and Spittlers neuem Götting. historischem Magazin. Vol. ii. p. 716–734*, where some other curiosities are collected.*

(8) See the next §.

(9) The elements are, properly speaking, changed only into the body and blood of Christ, but his soul is united to his body, and his divine nature to his soul; see Thomas Aquinas P. iii. Qu. 76. Art. 1. On the controversy which took place in the kingdom of Valencia, A. D. 1382 (respecting the transubstantiation of the bread into the whole Trinity), see Baluze, *Notæ ad vitas Paparum Avenionenses T. i. p. 1368 ss.* (from an ancient MS.) and Schröckh xxxiii. p. 325.

(10) The transubstantiation takes place in instanti, not successive. Comp. Alex. Hales. P. iv. Qu. 10. Memb. 5. Art. 4. Thom. Aqu. P. iii. Qu. 75. Art. 7. Alb. M. Sentent. iv. Dist. 10. Art. 3. (Klee, *Dogmengeschichte* ii. p. 204.)

(11) Thus Anselm said l. c. P. ii. c. 4. : Sic ergo constat, in diversis locis uno horæ momento esse posse corpus Christi, sed lege creatricis naturæ, non creatæ. The other scholastics adopted the same opinion. Similar views were also entertained by the mystics. Comp. Ruysbroek, *Specul. æternæ salutis* c. 8. and Engelhardt's *Monogr.* p. 261 : "All the bread which our Lord himself consecrated into his body (at the institution of the Lord's Supper),^a as well as the bread which the priests now everywhere

^a It was thought that Christ himself partook, by way of accommodation, of his own

consecrate, is, according to its true nature, only *one* bread (only *one* sort of bread.) In the act of consecration all the hosts are, by means of the secret intention of the priest, and the enunciation of the words of consecration, united into *one* mass, and *one* substance, and what was formerly bread, now becomes entirely the body of Christ.... Every bit of bread, every drop of wine, contains the whole Christ who is in heaven, but not confined to any particular place, as the *one* undivided soul is equally diffused throughout the body.... The body of Christ is present in all countries, places, and churches; hence we may preserve it in various ways, and keep it in various places; we may have it, receive it, and give it in the box. But as he exists in heaven with his hands, his feet, and all his members, and is seen by the angels and the redeemed in all his glory, he does not change his heavenly abode, and is ever present."—In illustration of such notions, the instance was adduced of a mirror composed of many pieces in which a single image is variously reflected; see Klee ii. p. 211.^a

(¹²) Respecting the institution of the said festival, see Gieseler ii. 2. p. 445 ss. § 77. notes o and p.

(¹³) The idea of a sacrifice is intimately connected with that of transubstantiation. Peter Lombard Sent. Lib. iv. Dist. 12. g. : breviter dici potest, illud quod offertur et consecratur a sacerdote vocari sacrificium et oblationem, quia memoria est et representatio veri sacrificii et sanctæ immolationis factæ in ara crucis. Et semel Christus mortuus in cruce est ibique immolatus est in semetipso (Heb. vii. 27.), quotidie autem immolatur in sacramento, quia in sacramento recordatio fit illius quod factum est semel. Thomas Aquinas entered into more lengthened discussions, Summ. P. iii. Qu. 83. Art. 1 ss. quoted by Münscher edit. by von Cölln. p. 270–71. The mystical notion was, that Christ is both priest and sacrifice at the same time; see Conc. Lateran. iv. can. 1. note 4. Concerning the usual canon of the mass, the various kinds of mass (*missæ solitariæ*) etc., comp. the archeological and body, at the institution of the sacrament in question; see Thomas Aquinas l. c. Qu. 81. Schröckh xxxix. p. 163.

^a Since every host contains the body of Christ, and one priest may lift up one host at the same time when another priest lets down another host, it follows (according to W. Ockam) that a body may move at one and the same time in two different directions, though Aristotle, from the merely physical point of view, makes the opposite assertion; see Centiloq. conclus. 27. Rettberg in the Studien and Kritiken 1839. part 1. p. 76.

liturgical words of Calixt (Dissert. de pontificio missæ sacrificio Francof. 1644. and de Missis solitariis. Helmst. 1647. 8.), *Budeus* (Dissert. de origine missæ pontificiæ, in Miscell, sacr. Jen. 1727. T. i. p. 1-63.), and *Augusti* (Archæologie vol. iv. and viii.)—On the adoration of the host during the mass, as well as at other times (*e. g.* when it was carried to the sick, etc.), which may be dated from the thirteenth century, see *Cæsarius of Heisterbach*, de miraculis et visionibus sui temporis dialog. lib. ix. c. 51. quoted by Gieseler ii. 2. § 77. note n. and *de Lith. C.*, de adoratione panis consecrati et interdictione sacri calicis in Eucharistia. 1753-8. Decret. Gregorii ix. Lib. iii. Tit. 41. c. 10. (quoted by Münscher ed. by von Cölln p. 262.) Sacerdos vero quilibet frequenter doceat plebem suam, ut, cum in celebratione missarum elevatur hostia salutaris, quilibet se reverenter inclinet, idem faciens cum eam defert presbyter ad infirmum.

(14) This is the more pleasing aspect of the history of the doctrine in question, which has too often been overlooked in works on the history of doctrines. Thus Anselm said, de sacram. altaris P. ii. c. 8. (p. 75.): Cum ergo de carne sua amandi se tantam ingerit materiam, magnam et mirificam animabus nostris vitæ alimoniam ministrat, quam tunc avidis faucibus sumimus, cum dulciter recolligimus et in ventre memoriæ recondimus, quæcunque pro nobis fecit et passus est Christus. Hoc est convivium de carne Jesu et sanguine, qui cum communicat, habet vitam in se manentem. Tunc enim communicamus, cum fide ardente quæ per dilectionem operatur, reposuimus in mensa Domini, qualia ipsi sumimus, videlicet, ut sicut ille totum se præbuit pro salute nostra nulla sua necessitate, sic nos totos fidei ejus et charitati exhibeamus necessitate salutis nostræ. In hoc convivio quicumque saginatur, nescit panem suum otiosus comedere, sed solícite cum muliere ejus ardet de nocte hujus seculi consurgere ad lucernam verbi Dei, ut labores manuum suarum manducet, et bene sit ei. Sicque in Christo manet bonus conviva Christi propriæ dilectionis affectu, habetque Christum in se manentem per sanctæ operationis effectum. Quod cum utrumque donum Dei sit, totum accrescit magis ac magis ad cumulum amoris in illum, quem perfecte amare est perfecte bonum esse. Hunc autem cibum plus manducat, qui amplius amat, et plus amando rursus qui plus et plus manducat, et plus et plus amat. Licet hujus amoris in hac vita non nisi

pignus quoddam accipiamus; plenitudinem ejus, in præmium, in futuro seculo expectantes. Et ecce hoc est manducare illam carnem, de qua dicit Jesus [Joh. vi.] qui manducat carnem meam in me manet et ego in eo. Similar language was used by *Hugo of St Victor*, who here again “combined the dialectic prudence of the scholastics with the warmth and depth of the mystics.” He expressed himself as follows (Lib. i. P. viii. c. 5.) :—“He who eats without being united to Christ, has the sacrament indeed, but he has not the true sacrament. On the contrary, he who eats and is united to our Lord, has the true sacrament, because he has faith and love. Even suppose he could neither take nor eat, yet he would be far more esteemed by our Lord than he who takes and eats, but neither believes nor loves, or he who believes, but does not love.” (Liebner p. 435.) Comp. *Bonaventura* Sent. iv. Dist. x. P. 1. Qu. 1. Art. 1. quoted by Klee, *Dogmengesch.* ii. p. 190. *Breviloq.* vi. 9. *Centiloq.* iii. 50.—*Tauler*, 4 Predigten auf unsers Herrn Fröhnleichnamstag (vol. ii. p. 178 ss.) 2 Predigten von dem heiligen Sacrament (ibid. p. 294. ss. comp. p. 333 ss.) *Ruysbroek* l. c. *Gerson*, Sermo de eucharistia in Festo corporis Domini. Opp. P. i. p. 1284-92. His illustrations are all pervaded by the spirit of mysticism; thus he says, p. 1219: Est panis angelorum, qui factus fuit et formatus in pretioso ventre Virginis gloriosæ et decoctus in fornace ardente dilectionis, in arbore crucis, qui manducari debet cum baculo spei, cum boni exempli califactorio, cum acetosis lachrymis bonæ patientiæ, velociter recordando finem nostrum, in una domo per unitatem integre, per veram credulitatem, tostus per ignem charitatis etc. *Thomas à Kempis*, de imit. Christi Lib. iv. 4. Ecce, unde dilectio procedit, qualis dignatio illucescit! quam magnæ gratiarum actiones et laudes tibi pro his debentur! O quam salutare et utile consilium tuum, cum istud instituisti! quam suave et jucundum convivium, cum te ipsum in cibum donasti! O quam admirabilis operatio tua, Domine! quam potens virtus tua, quam ineffabilis veritas tua! Dixisti enim, et facta sunt omnia, et hoc factum est, quod ipse jussisti. 5. Mira res et fide digna, ac humanum vincens intellectum, quod tu, Domine Deus meus, verus Deus et homo, sub modica specie panis et vini integer contineris, et sine consumptione a sumente manducaris. Tu Domine universorum, qui nullius habes indigentiam, voluisti per Sacramentum tuum habitare in

nobis: conserva cor meum et corpus immaculatum, ut læta et pura conscientia sæpius tua valeam celebrare mysteria, et ad meam perpetuam accipere salutem, quæ ad tuum præcique honorem et memoriale perenne sanxisti et instituisti.—6. Lætare, anima mea, et gratias age Deo pro tam nobili munere et solatio singulari in hac lacrymarum valle tibi relicto. Nam quoties hoc mysterium recolis et Christi corpus accipis, toties tuæ redemptionis opus agis, et particeps omnium meritorum Christi efficeris. Caritas enim Christi nunquam minuitur et magnitudo propitiationis ejus nunquam exhauritur. Ideo nova semper mentis renovatione ad hoc disponere te debes, et magnum salutis mysterium attendente consideratione pensare. Ita magnum, novum et jucundum tibi videri debet, cum celebras aut Missam audis, ac si eodem die Christus primum in uterum Virginis descendens homo factus esset; aut si in cruce pendens pro salute hominum pateretur et moreretur.—

Wessel entertained similar notions, though he somewhat differed from the ecclesiastical doctrine, see § 196, note 7. comp. de orat. viii. 6. p. 148. de Sacrament. Eucharist. C. 26. p. 699. quoted by *Ullmann* p. 329: "The bread set before believers, is the purest and most perfect mirror of love, lifted up on high, that all may see it, and none hide himself from its warming beams," etc.

§ 195.

THE WITHHOLDING OF THE CUP FROM THE LAITY.

CONCOMITANCE.

* *Spittler*, Geschichte des Kelches im Abendmahl. Lemgo 1780.

In the Western Church the custom was gradually adopted of administering to the laity only the consecrated host, while the priests alone partook of the wine.⁽¹⁾ In defence of such a practice, theologians advanced the doctrine of *concomitance*, which was developed about the same time, and according to which Christ exists wholly in either of the elements, so that those who receive the consecrated host, partake of his

blood no less than of his body.⁽²⁾ *Robert Pulleyn* is said to have been the first who claimed the participation of the cup exclusively for the clergy.⁽³⁾ *Alexander Hales*, *Bonaventura*, and *Thomas Aquinas*, followed his example.⁽⁴⁾ *Jacobellus of Misa*, the colleague of Huss, demanded, in the absence of the latter, that the laity should be readmitted to the participation of the Lord's Supper sub utraque forma. Huss afterwards approved of what he had done.⁽⁵⁾ It is well known that this demand, which was refused by the Synod of Constance,⁽⁶⁾ gave rise to the wars of the Hussites. The consequence was, that the Council of Basle confirmed the doctrine of the Church, according to which it is sufficient to partake of the Lord's Supper sub *una* forma; but it permitted exceptions when the Church deemed it desirable.⁽⁷⁾

(1) Had this custom its origin in the apprehension lest any part of the wine might be spilt? Concerning the dipping of the bread—the use of the *Fistulæ* (*cannæ eucharisticæ*), etc., see Spittler l. c. and the works on ecclesiastical history and archæology: Augusti, *Archæologie* viii. p. 392 ss. comp. p. 485. (Comp. § 194. note 13.)

(2) Peter Lombard taught Sent. Lib. iv. Dist. 10. D. (in calce) *integrum Christum esse in altari sub utraque specie, et substantiam panis in corpus, vinique substantiam in sanguinem converti.* Thomas Aquinas was the first who made use of the term *concomitantia* in Summ. P. iii. Qu. 76. Art. 1.: *Sciendum, quod aliquid Christi est in hoc sacramento dupliciter. Uno modo quasi ex vi sacramenti, alio modo ex naturali concomitantia. Ex vi quidem sacramenti est sub speciebus hujus sacramenti id, in quod directe convertitur substantia panis et vini præexistens, prout significatur per verba formæ, quæ sunt effectiva in hoc sacramento. Ex naturali autem concomitantia est in hoc sacramento illud, quod realiter est conjunctum ei, in quod prædicta conversio terminatur. Si enim aliqua duo sunt realiter conjuncta, ubicunque est unum realiter, oportet et aliud esse. Sola enim*

operatione animæ discernuntur, quæ realiter sunt conjuncta. (He made use of the same concomitance to explain the union of the soul and the Divine nature of Christ with his body. Compare above § 194. note 9.)

⁽³⁾ Sent. P. viii. c. 3. (he spoke of the danger alluded to.) The commandment of Christ: "*Drink ye all of it,*" was applied to the priests, as the successors of the apostles. See Cramer vi. p. 515. 16.

⁽⁴⁾ Alex. Hales Summ. P. iv. Qu. 53. Membr. 1. quoted by Münscher ed. by von Cölln p. 263. Bonaventura in Sent. Lib. iv. Dist. 11. P. 2. Art. 1. Qu. 2. (ibidem.) Thomas Aquinas see above note 2.

⁽⁵⁾ Aeneæ Sylvii historia Bohemica c. 35. Hermann von der Hardt. Acta Conc. Constant. T. iii. p. 338 ss. Gieseler, Kirchengesch. ii. 4. p. 420. § 151. The approbation of Huss was somewhat qualified. Comp. de sanguine Christi sub specie vini a laicis sumendo, quæstio M. Joannis Huss, quam Constantiæ conscripsit priusquam in carcerem conjiceretur, in: Joh. Hus historia et monument. Norimb. 1558. T. i. fol. xlii. ss. Gieseler l. c. p. 413.

⁽⁶⁾ Sess. xiii. (A. D. 1415, June 15th) see in Herm. von der Hardt T. iii. Col. 646 ss. quoted by Gieseler l. c. p. 329. note f. and Münscher, edit. by von Cölln p. 266.: firmissime credendum et nullatenus dubitandum, integrum corpus Christi et sanguinem tam sub specie panis quam sub specie vini veraciter contineri.

⁽⁷⁾ Mansi T. xxx. Col. 695: Sancta vero mater ecclesia, suadentibus causis rationabilibus, facultatem communicandi populum sub utraque specie potest concedere et elargiri. Nevertheless the council adhered to the earlier canon: Nullatenus ambigendum est quod non sub specie panis caro tantum, nec sub specie vini sanguis tantum, sed sub qualibet specie est integer totus Christus, etc., compare also Sess. xxx. (A. D. 1437. Dec. 23d.) in Mansi xxix. Col. 158. Gieseler l. c. p. 442. Münscher ed. by von Cölln p. 267. 68.

§ 196.

DIFFERENCES OF OPINION.

After the doctrine of transubstantiation had thus been established, it was only now and then that a few individuals ventured to dissent from it, or, at least, to modify the commonly received notion. Thus *Rupert of Duytz* (Rupertus Tuitiensis) supposed (to judge from some passages in his works) that the body of Christ is in a miraculous way united to the bread, without any visible change in the elements.⁽¹⁾ *John of Paris* (Johannes Pungens-asinum) narrowed the notion of Rupert into the scholastic idea of *impanation*, according to which the corporeitas panis (paneitas) forms a union with the corporeitas Christi—an idea which would appear to many still more repulsive than the apparently more sublime doctrine of transubstantiation.⁽²⁾ *William Ockam* also inferred the co-existence of Christ's body with the accidents, from the nominalistic theory of the quantity of matter, and thus partly prepared the way for the later view of Luther.⁽³⁾ Similar opinions were established by *Durandus de Sancto Porciano*.⁽⁴⁾ On the other hand, it was *Wycliffe* who combated the doctrine of transubstantiation, as well as that of impanation, with the weapons of acute reasoning.⁽⁵⁾ His views were probably adopted by *Jerome of Prague*, while *Huss* expressed himself in accordance with the orthodox doctrine of the Church.⁽⁶⁾ *John Wessel* attached particular importance to the spiritual participation of the Lord's Supper, and asserted that none but *believers* can partake of the body of Christ. He retained the catholic idea of a sacrifice, but applied it mystically to this spiritual priesthood.⁽⁷⁾

(1) “Concerning Rupert of Duytz, it is difficult to state his opinion in precise terms, inasmuch as he expressed himself at different times in different ways.” Klee, *Dogmengeschichte* p. 202. but compare his *Commentar. in Exod. Lib. ii. c. 10.*: Sicut naturam humanam non destruxit, cum illam operatione sua ex utero Virginis Deus Verbo in unitatem personæ conjunxit, sic substantiam panis et vini, secundum exteriorem speciem quinque sensibus subactam, non mutat aut destruit, cum eidem Verbo in unitatem corporis ejusdem quod in cruce pependit; et sanguinis ejusdem quem de latere suo fudit, ista conjungit. Item quomodo Verbum a summo demissum caro factum est, non mutatum in carnem, sed *assumendo* carnem, sic panis et vinum, utrumque ab imo sublevatum, fit corpus Christi et sanguis, non mutatum in carnis saporem sive in sanguinis horrorem, sed assumendo invisibiliter utriusque, divinæ scilicet et humanæ quæ in Christo est, immortalis substantiæ veritatem.—de div. off. ii. 2: Unus idemque Deus sursum est in carne, hic *in pane*. He called the bread *Deifer panis*.—Panem *cum* sua carne, vinum *cum* suo jungebat sanguine. But he also spoke of the bread and wine being converted and transferred into the body and blood of Christ. Compare the passages quoted by Klee l. c.

(2) He died A. D. 1306. He wrote: *Determinatio de modo existendi corpus Christi in Sacramento altaris alio quam sit ille quem tenet ecclesia*; this work was published Lond. 1686. 8. Comp. *Oudinus*, *Cas. dissertatio de doctrina et scriptis Jo. Parisiensis*, in *Comment. de scriptt. eccles. T. iii. Col. 634 ss.* Schröckh *Kirchengesch. xxviii. p. 70 ss.* Münscher ed. by von Cölln p. 256-38^a.

(3) It is of special importance that he acknowledged the impossibility of proving the doctrine of transubstantiation from Scripture (*Quodl. iv. Qu. 35.*). He developed his own views in his *Tractatus de Sacramento altaris*, and elsewhere, the passages are collected by *Rettberg*, (*Occam und Luther, in the Studien und Kritiken 1839. part 1.*) Though Ockam retained the ortho-

^a As early as the middle of the thirteenth century several Professors in the University of Paris had been charged with incorrect opinions concerning the Lord's Supper; see the letter addressed to Pope Clement IV. in *Bulæus*, vol. iii. p. 372. 73: . . . esse Parisiis celebrem opinionem tunc temporis de mysterio Eucharistiæ, qua contendebatur, corpus Christi non esse vere in altari, sed sicut signatum sub signis.

dox doctrine of the accidents (§ 193. note 6.), he could not attach any distinct meaning to the notion that the substance of the elements has ceased to be such, because he imagined that the body of Christ and the bread are at *one and the same* place. Thus we may “*suppose the true theory of Ockam to be this, that the body of Christ is contained in the same manner in which soul and body together occupy one and the same space; as the soul exists wholly in every member, so Christ exists wholly in every single host.*” Rettberg p. 93. Ockam carried out his notion of the ubiquity of the body of Christ in the most paradoxical manner. The stone thrown into the air, is in its course at the same place where the body of Christ is, etc. That ubiquity, however, was not the foundation, but the consequence, of his doctrine. See Rettberg p. 96.—The systems of Ockam and of Luther are compared with each other, *ibid.* p. 123 ss.

(4) See Cramer vii. p. 804. 5. In his opinion “*none of the scholastics has entertained views more nearly allied to those of Luther than he*” (Might we not on the whole suppose, that all who, from the times of Berengar to Wycliffe, endeavoured to reject the orthodox doctrine of transubstantiation, without openly adopting the symbolical mode of perception, prepared the soil which was afterwards to receive the doctrine of Luther?)

(5) Trialogus Lib. iv. c. 2-10. *e. g.* c. 6. p. 197. (alias p. cix.): Inter omnes hæreses, quæ unquam pullularunt in ecclesia sancta Dei, non fuit nefandior quam hæresis ponens accidens sine subiecto esse hoc venerabile sacramentum. He also opposed the doctrine of impanation c. 8.: Sum certus quod sententia ista impanationis est impossibilis atque hæretica. He could not bear the thought, that in that case the *baker* would prepare the body of Christ, instead of the priest!—According to Wycliffe, Christ is not present in the bread realiter, sed habitualiter, secundum similitudinem. In illustration of his views, he also spoke of the mirrors, in which the *one* countenance of Christ is reflected in various ways to the eyes of the devout. The conversio which takes place, is a change from the inferior to the superior (this was the ancient opinion which was also adopted by Berengar.) Comp. Schröckh xxxiv. p. 508 ss.

(6) Jerome of Prague was at least charged by the Council of Constance with holding such opinions as follows: quod panis non

transsubstantiatur in corpus Christi, nec *est* corpus Christi in sacramento præsentialiter et corporaliter, sed ut signatum in signo. Item, quod in hostia sive sacramento altaris non est vere Christus.—Christus passus est in cruce, sed hostia altaris nunquam est passa neque patitur; ergo in hostia in sacramento altaris non est Christus.—Mures non possunt comedere Christum; sed mures possunt hostiam consecratam comedere: ergo hostia in sacramento altaris non est Christus, see Hermann von der Hardt T. iv. P. viii. p. 646. On the other hand *Poggi* (Ep. ad Aretin.) gives the following relation: Cum rogaretur, quid sentiret de sacramento, inquit: Antea panem, postea vero Christi corpus, et reliqua secundum fidem. Tum quidam: ajunt te dixisse, post consecrationem remanere panem. Tum ille: apud pistorem, inquit, panis remanet; see Klee, Dogmengesch. ii. p. 205. note 7.—*Huss* did not oppose the doctrine of the church in decided terms, though he endeavoured to justify his belief in a real presence of the body of Christ, without entering into any further explanation of the modus; see his Tractatus de corpore Christi in the above Histor. et Monum. fol. cxxiii ss. Münscher ed. by von Cölln p. 260.

(7) See Ullmann p. 328-340. (where extracts are given from Wessel's treatises: de oratione viii. de Sacram. Eucharistiæ, especially c. 10. c. 24. 26. 27. Scal. Medit. Exempl. i. ii. iii.) In his opinion the Lord's Supper is the realization and appropriation of the love of Christ; but he is not aware of any essential difference between the presence and appropriation of Christ in the Lord's Supper, and that of which believers are conscious *without* the sacrament. The *spiritual* participation of the body of Christ is the principal thing, not the *sacramental*. The sacramental act (the sacrifice of the mass) can be performed by none but the priest, the inward communion with Christ may be renewed by every Christian.

§ 197.

THE GREEK CHURCH.

The use of unleavened bread at the commemoration of Christ's death, which had been introduced into the

Latin Church from the ninth century,⁽¹⁾ gave rise to a controversy with the Greek Church, in the course of which, the latter went so far as to charge the former with the corruption of pure religion.⁽²⁾ As regards the doctrine of the sacrament itself, the Greek theologians held different views, though they agreed in the main with the divines of the Western Church. Some of them propounded the doctrine of consubstantiation,⁽³⁾ while others taught that of transubstantiation,⁽⁴⁾ but without inferring from it all the consequences which we find in the writings of the scholastics. Thus the Greek Church preserved also the ancient custom of administering the Lord's Supper to the laity *sub utraque forma*.⁽⁵⁾

⁽¹⁾ On this point see Neander, *Kirchengesch* iv. p. 637-38. The hosts, properly so called (*i. e.*, the consecrated wafers), did not come into use till later, and, according to some writers, not till the second half of the twelfth century. Compare *J. A. Schmidt*, *de oblatibus eucharisticis, quæ Hostiæ vocari solent*. Ed. 2. Helmst. 1733-4. Augusti viii. p. 375 ss.

⁽²⁾ This was done by *Michael Cerularius*, patriarch of Constantinople, in a letter addressed to John, bishop of Trani in Apulia (in *Barm. ad ann. 1053*. No. 22. and *Canis. lectt. antt.* ed. Basnage T. iii. P. 1. p. 281.) He derived, strangely enough, the noun *ἄρτος* from the verb *ἄρω*, and appealed, in support of his theory, to Matt. xxvi. 17, 18, 20, 26-28., as well as to Matt. v. 13, and xiii. 33. (the three measures of meal are, in his opinion, an image of the Trinity!)—The Emperor Constantine Monomachus, and Pope Leo x. endeavoured in vain to establish peace.—The reply of *Humbert* (prim. ed. Baron. in *Append. T. xi. Canisius*, l. c. T. iii. P. 1. p. 283 ss.) is given by Gieseler ii. § 42. note e. After the controversy had been carried on for some time (*e. g.*, by *Nicetas Pectoratus*, and others), at last the Council of Florence granted permission to the Greeks to retain their own rite. See *Mansi T. xxxi. Col. 1029 and 1031. Comp. Schröckh xxiv. p. 210 ss.* Neander and Gieseler l. c.

⁽³⁾ John Damascenus quoted (*de fide orthodoxa* iv. 13.) from

the writings of Cyrill, Jerome, and Gregory of Nazianzum, those passages which appeared to him to carry with them the greatest weight. He decidedly rejected the symbolical interpretation, p. 271. : Οὐκ ἐστὶ τύπος ὁ ἄρτος καὶ ὁ οἶνος τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ· μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου τεθεωμένον, αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου εἰπόντος, τοῦτό μου ἐστίν, οὐ τύπος τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλὰ τὸ σῶμα· καὶ οὐ τύπος τοῦ αἵματος, ἀλλὰ τὸ αἷμα. (Compare John vi.) He also referred to the coal spoken of by Isaiah vi. 6. : ἄνθραξ δὲ ξύλον λιτὸν οὐκ ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἠνωμένον πυρί· οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἄρτος τῆς κοινωνίας οὐκ ἄρτος λιτός ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἠνωμένος θεότητι· σῶμα δὲ ἠνωμένον θεότητι, οὐ μία φύσις ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ μία μὲν τοῦ σώματος, τῆς δὲ ἠνωμένης αὐτῷ θεότητος ἑτέρα· ὥστε τὸ συναμφότερον, οὐ μία φύσις, ἀλλὰ δύο. See p. 273. where he shows in what sense the elements may be called ἀντίτυπα (after the example of Basilides.) The views which the Greek theologians entertained with respect to the Lord's Supper, were connected with the part which they took in the controversy concerning images; those who *opposed* the worship of images appealed to the fact, that we have an *image* of our Saviour in the Lord's Supper, which was denied by the advocates of that doctrine. Hence it happened, that the decisions of the Synod of Constantinople (A. D. 754.) and of the second Council of Nice (A. D. 787.) contradicted each other. See Mansi T. xiii. Col. 261 ss. 265. and Münscher ed. by von Cölln p. 222. In the decrees of the Council of Nice it is distinctly stated, that neither Christ nor his apostles had called the elements used at the Lord's Supper *images*.

(4) Thus the expressions μεταποιεῖσθαι and μεταβάλλεσθαι were employed by *Theophylact* in his comment. on Matt. xxvi. 28. Compare also what *Euthymius Zigabenus* said on this passage in Münscher ed. by von Cölln p. 223. *Nicholas of Methone* made use of the same expression in his treatise quoted by Ullmann p. 97. (Biblioth. vett. PP. T. ii. græcolatinus. Auctuar. Biblioth. Ducæan. Par 1624. p. 274.); he also speaks there of a change of the water, which is added into the blood of Christ. He entertained, in addition, the scholastic notion, that the bread and wine do not change their external appearance, lest men might be terrified by the sight of the real flesh and blood. The true design of the Lord's Supper he conceived to consist in the μετουσία

Χριστοῦ. “ *The beginnings of theological speculation may be traced in the theory of Nicholas, but he rested satisfied (as the Greek theologians of the present period in general did) with mere suggestions, while the scholastics of the Western Church fully exhausted such subjects.*” Ullmann.

(5) See Augusti *Archaeologie* vol. viii. p. 398. On the question, whether it was sufficient to administer *only* wine at the communion of children, see *ibidem*.^a

§ 198.

THE SACRAMENT OF PENANCE.

The doctrine of penance, which is, properly speaking, implied in the scheme of redemption, presupposed the sacrament of baptism. In the scholastic system it found its place again among the sacraments.⁽¹⁾ Though it is only by a most unnatural interpretation that this sacrament can be proved to possess a visible sign, both *Peter Lombard* and *Thomas Aquinas* endeavoured to demonstrate the matter, as well as the form of the sacrament, and, as far as possible, to separate the one from the other.⁽²⁾ The scholastics taught that penance is composed of three parts: *contritio cordis* (in distinction from *attritio*), *confessio oris*, and *satisfactio operis*.⁽³⁾ Pious minds took offence, not so much at the formal error of regarding penance as a sacrament, as at the lax, and merely external theory of penance in general. *John Wessel* found fault, not only with the threefold division of penance, but also with the definition respecting its component parts.⁽⁴⁾ *Gerson* and others opposed the sale of indulgences,⁽⁵⁾ *Wycliffe* attacked auricular confession.⁽⁶⁾ But the discussion of these points belongs

^a Concerning the communion of children which ceased to be practised from the twelfth century, see *Zorn historia Eucharistiæ infantium*. Berol. 1736. 8.

more properly to the history of the Church, and of ethics, than to that of doctrines.⁽⁷⁾

⁽¹⁾ The earlier custom of bringing penance into connection with *baptism* (by making a distinction between sins committed *before* and *after* baptism—by the notion of a baptism of tears—of the second plank after shipwreck, etc.), led the scholastics to enumerate penance among the sacraments. Comp. Peter Lombard Sent. iv. Dist. 14. A. Thomas Aquinas P. iii. Qu. 86. Art. 4. Klee, Dogmengesch. ii. p. 236 ss.

⁽²⁾ Peter Lombard observed (Dist. 22. C.) that some theologians regarded the external performance of the works of penance, which is perceptible with our bodily senses, as *signum*. The external works of penance are the signs of *inward* penance, as the bread and wine used in the Lord's Supper are the signs of the body and blood of Christ which are contained in the accidents. *Thomas Aquinas* also conceived (Qu. 84. Art. 1.) the *res Sacramenti* to consist in *internal* penance, of which the *external* is only the sign. (Every outward act might in that sense be called a sacrament!) In the second article he further distinguished between *materia* and *forma*. The *materia* of penance are the sins which are to be removed, the *forma* consists in the words of the priest: *absolvo te*. Compare the passages quoted by Münscher edit. by von Cölln. p. 276-77.

⁽³⁾ This distinction was made by Hildebert of Tours, who maintained to have founded it upon Chrysostom and Augustine; comp. Sermo iv. in Quadrag. Opp. Col. 324. Sermo xv. Col. 733. quoted by Münscher edit. by von Cölln p. 274. and Peter Lombard Sent. Lib. iv. Dist. 16. Litt. A.: *In perfectione autem pœnitentiæ tria observanda sunt, scilicet compunctio cordis, confessio oris, satisfactio operis.....Hæc est fructifera pœnitentia, ut sicut tribus modis deum offendimus, scilicet corde, ore et opere: ita tribus modis satisfaciamus.....Huic ergo triplici morti triplici remedio occurritur, contritione, confessione, satisfactione.* Conc. Florent. 1439 (under Pope Eugen IV.) in Mansi xxxi. Col. 1057. Münscher edit. by von Cölln, p. 284.: *Quartum Sacramentum est pœnitentiæ, cujus quasi materia sunt actus pœnitentis, qui in tres distinguuntur partes. Quarum prima est cordis contritio, ad quam pertinet ut doleat de peccato commisso cum*

proposito non peccandi de cætero. Secunda est oris confessio, ad quam pertinet ut peccator omnia peccata, quorum memoriam habet, suo sacerdoti confiteatur integraliter. Tertia est satisfactio pro peccatis secundum arbitrium sacerdotis, quæ quidem præcipue fit per orationem, jejunium et eleemosynam. Forma hujus Sacramenti sunt verba absolutionis, quæ sacerdos profert cum dicit: Ego te absolvo etc. Minister hujus sacramenti est sacerdos, habens auctoritatem absolvendi vel ordinariam, vel ex commissione superioris. Effectus hujus sacramenti est absolutio a peccatis.—On the difference between contritio and attritio see Alexander of Hales P. 4. Qu. 74. membr. 1. : Timor servilis principium est attritionis, timor initialis (*i. e.* that with which the life of sanctification begins^a) principium est contritionis.....Item contritio est a gratia gratum faciente, attritio a gratia gratis data. Comp. Thom. Aqu. Qu. 1. Art. 2. Bonaventura in Lib. iv. Dist. 17. P. 1. Art. 2. Q. 3.—The necessity of confessio oris (*i. e.* that it was necessary to confess our sins not only to God, but also to the *priest*) was asserted by Thomas Aquinas in Supplem. tertie Part. Quæst. 8. Art. 1. Peter Lombard expressed himself more indefinitely on this point, Sent. iv. Dist. 17. Litt. B.—The ecclesiastical institution of *auricular confession* was established by the fourth Council of the Lateran (under Pope Innocent III.). Can. xxi. in Decretis Greg. L. v. Tit. 38. C. 12: Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata confiteatur fideliter, saltem semel in anno, proprio sacerdoti,^b et injunctam sibi pœnitentiam studeat pro viribus adimplere etc. Gieseler ii. 2. p. 483. §. 81. note e. Münscher ed. by von Cölln p. 282. The satisfactio operis consisted in fastings, prayers, alms, pilgrimages, mortifications, etc. Thomas Aquinas l. c. Qu. 15. Art. 3. (quoted by Münscher ed. by von Cölln p. 279.) The practice of imposing fines instead of bodily punishments, gave rise to the sale of indulgences.

^a On this account, others (such as Thomas and Bonaventura) also called the contritio: timor filialis, as opposed to the timor servilis.

^b In the absence of a priest it was permitted to confess to a layman; but this custom led to the question as to how far the sacrament was complete in such a case? See Thom. Aqu. in Suppl. Qu. 8. Art. 2. on the other side, Bonaventura P. iii. ad Expos. text. dub. 1. p. 229. Duns Scot. in lib. iv. Dist. 17. Qu. 1.—The sects of the middle ages, even the Flagellantes, preferred confession to a layman. Comp. Münscher ed. by von Cölln p. 283. 84. Gieseler ii. 2. p. 277. Klee, Dogmengesch. ii. p. 252 ss.

(⁴) De Sacramento pœnitentiæ p. 792 : Est enim actus *mentis* pœnitentia sicut peccatum : utrumque enim *voluntatis*. Et sicut peccatum voluntatis tantum est, ita pœnitentia solius est voluntatis. For further particulars see Ullmann p. 340 ss.

(⁵) Epistola de indulgentiis (Opp. T. ii.) c. 3-5. and c. 9.

(⁶) Trialog. libr. iv. c. 32.

(⁷) See Gieseler ii. parts 1. 2. and 3.

§ 199.

THE SACRAMENT OF EXTREME UNCTION.

(Sacramentum unctionis extremæ ; unctionis infirmorum.)

The apostolic injunction respecting the sick, Jam. v. 14. (comp. Mark vi. 13.), which probably possessed a symbolico-religious significance, in addition to its healing efficacy,⁽¹⁾ gave rise to the institution of a new sacrament, which came into general use from the ninth century, and could be administered to the sick only in their dying hour.⁽²⁾ But various opinions obtained on the question, whether it was proper to repeat the administration of the sacrament in the case of a dying person who had received it on a former occasion, when he recovered, and was restored to life, or whether it was sufficient to have administered it once. The Church did not ascribe a character *indelebilis* to this sacrament.⁽³⁾ Its sign is the consecrated oil, its effect the forgiveness of sin, and partly also the alleviation of bodily sufferings.⁽⁴⁾

(¹) See the commentaries on this passage, the Venerable Bede, Opp. T. v. Col. 693. and on Mark vi. 13. *ibid.* Col. 132. quoted by Münscher edit. by von Cölln p. 297. Innoc. I. Ep. 21. ad Decentium Ep. Eugubinum (written about the year 416) Cap. 8. *ibid.* p. 298.

(²) Concil. Regiaticinum (A. D. 850) Canon 8. in Münscher ed. by von Cölln p. 298.—Among the scholastics Hugo of St Victor was the first who spoke of extreme unction as a sacrament ; de Sacram. ii. P. xv. Comp. Summæ Sent. Tract. vi. c. 15. Liebner

p. 481. (The doctrine of extreme unction formed, in his system, the transition to eschatology.)—Peter Lombard Sent. iv. Dist. 23. mentioned three different kinds of consecrated oil (*χρίσματα*): 1. That with which priests and kings are anointed (on the head), or those who are confirmed (upon the forehead.) 2. That with which catechumens and newly baptized persons are anointed (upon the chest, and between the shoulders.) 3. The unctio infirmorum (which may be performed on various parts of the body. Compare note 4.)^a He also distinguished between the sacramentum, and the res sacramenti, B. : Sacramentum est ipsa unctio exterior, res sacramenti unctio interior, quæ peccatorum remissione et virtutum ampliacione perficitur. Et si ex contemptu vel negligentia hoc prætermittitur, periculosum est et damnabile.

⁽³⁾ Ivo of Chartres (Ep. 225.) ad Radulfum, and Geoffrey of Vendome (who lived about the year 1110) Opusculum de iteratione Sacramenti (in Sirmondi Opp. T. iii.) *opposed* the repetition of extreme unction (comp. Münscher ed. by von Cölln p. 299.) : Peter Lombard pronounced in *favour* of it, l. c. Lit. C.—On the controversy concerning this point, which arose on the occasion of the death of Pope Pius ii. see above § 190. note 6.—The opinion also obtained during the middle ages, that extreme unction does away with all the relations in which man stands to the present world ; the person who had received extreme unction immediately renounced all kinds of meat, and the continuance of matrimony. Bishops, however, as well as councils, *e. g.* the Concil. Wigorn. (A. D. 1240), combated this notion. See Klee ii. p. 272.

⁽⁴⁾ Comp. the opinion of Peter Lombard note 2. and Hugo of St. Victor de sacram. fid. Lib. ii. P. xv. c. 2. : duplici ex causa sacramentum hoc institutum, et ad peccatorum scilicet remissionem, et ad corporalis infirmitatis allevationem. Comp. Thom. Aqu. P. iii. in Supplem. Qu. 30. Art. 1.—Decret. Eugenii iv. in Conc. Florent. a. 1439. (Mansi T. xxxi. Col. 1058.) : Quintum Sacramentum est extrema unctio. Cujus materia est oleum olivæ per Episcopum benedictum. Hoc sacramentum nisi infirmo de cujus morte timetur, dari non debet ; qui in his locis ungendus est : in oculis propter visum, in auribus propter auditum, in nari-

^a On the further significance of consecrated oil, see Thom. Aqu. Supplem. Quæst. xxiv Art. 4.—Klee ii. p. 268. 69.

bus propter odoratum, in ore propter gustum vel locutionem, in manibus propter tactum, in pedibus propter gressum, in renibus propter delectationem ibidem vigentem. Forma hujus sacramenti est hæc: per istam unctionem et suam piissimam misericordiam, quicquid peccasti per visum etc.....et similiter in aliis membris. Minister hujus sacramenti est sacerdos. Effectus vero est mentis sanatio, et, in quantum autem expedit, ipsius etiam corporis (he appeals to Jam. v. 14.)

§ 200.

THE SACRAMENT OF HOLY ORDERS.

(Sacramentum ordinis.)

This sacrament is intimately connected with the doctrine of the Church, and the distinction made between the laity and the clergy. It is that sacrament by which men are fitted to administer the other sacraments.⁽¹⁾ Accordingly, its essence lies in the ecclesiastical power which it communicates.⁽²⁾ None but the bishops are permitted to ordain,⁽³⁾ and only baptized and grown up males can receive ordination.⁽⁴⁾ Theologians differed in their opinions respecting the validity of ordination performed by heretical bishops.⁽⁵⁾ Further regulations (concerning ordines majores et minores, etc.), belong to the canon law.⁽⁶⁾ The present sacrament has a character *indelebilis*.⁽⁷⁾

⁽¹⁾ Thom. Aqu. Pars iii. Supplem. Qu. 34. Art 3: Propter Ordinem fit homo dispensator aliorum sacramentorum, ergo Ordo habet magis rationem, quod sit sacramentum, quam alia.

⁽²⁾ As regards the external sign of ordination, there was a considerable difference of opinion. The earlier Church regarded the laying on of hands (*χειροτονία*) as something superior, magical, while the later theologians attached no great importance to it. Comp. Kleé ii. p. 280. 81. The consecrated oil also was only

mentioned occasionally. Thomas Aquinas l. c. Art. 5. candidly avowed, that, while the efficacia of the other sacraments consisted in the sign quod divinam virtutem et significat et continet, it depended, in the present case, on the person who administers the sacrament, and that it was transmitted by him to the person to be ordained. Therefore, in his view, *the act of ordination* is the material, but not the symbols, which are used at its administration. Nevertheless it is said in the Decret. Eugenii iv. in Conc. Florent. a. 1439 l. c. Col. 1058: Sextum Sacramentum est Ordinis, cujus materia est illud, per cujus traditionem confertur Ordo: sicut Presbyteratus traditur per calicis cum vino et patenæ cum pane porrectionem; Diaconatus vero per libri Evangeliorum dationem; Subdiaconatus vero per calicis vacui cum patena vacua superposita traditionem, et similiter de aliis per rerum ad ministeria sua pertinentium assignationem. Forma sacerdotii talis est: Accipe potestatem offerendi sacrificium in ecclesia pro vivis et mortuis, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Et sic de aliorum ordinum formis, prout in pontificali romano late continetur. Compare also Peter Lombard Lib. iv. Dist. 24. He calls (Litt. B.) the tonsure (corona) the signaculum, quo signantur in partem sortis ministerii divini...denudatio capitis est revelatio mentis. Clericus enim secretorum Dei non ignarus esse debet. Tondentur etiam capilli usque ad revelationem sensuum, scilicet oculorum et aurium, ut vitia in corde et opere pullulantia doceantur præcidenda, ne ad audiendum et intelligendum verbum Dei præpediatur mens, pro quo servato reddetur in excelsis corona.

⁽³⁾ Decret. Eug. iv. l. c. : Ordinarius minister hujus sacramenti est Episcopus. Comp. Thom. Aqu. Qu. 38. Art. 1.

⁽⁴⁾ This is self-evident. Concerning the age at which persons may be ordained, the following regulations were made: ut Subdiaconus non ordinetur ante quatuordecim annos, nec Diaconus ante viginti quinque, nec Presbyter ante triginta. Deinde, si dignus fuerit, ad episcopatum eligi potest; see Peter Lombard l. c. Litt. I. The priests were to be thirty years old, because Christ (according to Luke iii.) commenced his public ministry at the age of thirty years.

⁽⁵⁾ The views of Peter Lombard on this point were not quite settled, Sent. iv. Dist. 25. de ordinatis ab hæreticis. Thomas

Aquinas P. iii. in Supplem. Dist. 38. Art. 2. gave it as his opinion, quod (hæretici) vera sacramenta conferunt, sed cum eis gratiam non dant, non propter inefficaciam sacramentorum, sed propter peccata recipientium ab eis sacramenta contra prohibitionem ecclesiæ. As the present question was analogous to that concerning the baptism of heretics, it was to be decided on the same principles ; see *Auxilius* quoted by *Klee* ii. p. 282.

(⁶) Peter Lombard l. c. The seven classes of Holy Orders are enumerated in the following succession, commencing with the first : Ostiarii, Lectores, Exorcistæ, Acoluthi—Subdiaconi, Diaconi, Presbyteri.

(⁷) Thom. Aqu. Qu. 25. Art. 2. Qu. 37. Art. 5. quoted by Münscher edit. by von Cölln p. 303.

§ 201.

THE SACRAMENT OF MATRIMONY.

(Sacramentum matrimonii conjugii.)

It is one of the strange contradictions which prevailed in the Catholic Church during the middle ages, that, while on the one hand single life was thought to be a virtue, on the other matrimony was numbered among the sacraments.⁽¹⁾ Much ingenuity was indeed required to shew the true signs of a sacrament in matrimony in the concrete, as they were specified by the Church itself in the abstract. In the absence of a visible material element, *matrimony itself* was regarded as a type of the union of Christ with the Church (according to Eph. v. 32.) and the word *μυστήριον*, translated sacramentum, as the vulgate has it.⁽²⁾ That it was a Divine institution was more easily shewn ; on the contrary, as regards antiquity, matrimony occupied the first place among the sacraments, since it was instituted in Paradise.⁽³⁾ Though it has not a character indelebilis, it is

indissoluble as a sacrament, even where bodily separation should have taken place.⁽⁴⁾ Further regulations concerning conjugal duties, prohibited relationships, etc., belong partly to the canon law, partly to ethics.⁽⁵⁾ According to the canons of the Western Church, the two sacraments of matrimony and of holy orders so exclude each other, that he who receives the one must, as a general rule, renounce the other.⁽⁶⁾

⁽¹⁾ Peter Lombard l. c. Dist. xxvi. F. Thomas Aquinas, Qu. 53. Art. 3.—Some scholastics, however, restricted the idea of sacrament; thus Durandus Sent. iv. Dist. 26. Qu. 3. No. 8. quoted by Klee, Dogmenges. ii. p. 302. (Cramer vii. p. 807.): Quod matrimonium non est sacramentum stricte et proprie dictum, sicut alia sacramenta novæ legis. On the opinions of Abelard and Peter John Oliva see ibidem. That which constitutes the sacrament of matrimony is not the performance of the ceremony by the priest, but the consensus of husband and wife. Pet. Lombard, Dist. xxvii. C. Respecting particular decrees of popes and councils, see Klee ii. p. 305.

⁽²⁾ Peter Lombard l. c. :..... Ut enim inter conjuges conjunctio est secundum consensum animorum, et secundum permixtionem corporum: sic Ecclesia Christo copulatur voluntate et natura, qua idem vult cum eo et ipse formam sumsit de natura hominis. Copulata est ergo sponsa sponso spiritualiter et corporaliter, i. e., charitate ac conformitate naturæ. Hujus utriusque copulæ figura est in conjugio. Consensus enim conjugum copulam spiritualem Christi et ecclesiæ, quæ fit per charitatem, significat. Commixtio vero sexum illam significat quæ fit per naturæ conformitatem. Eugen. iv. in Conc. Florent l. c. Col. 1058 f.: Septimum est sacramentum Matrimonii, quod est signum conjunctionis Christi et Ecclesiæ secundum Apostolum dicentem (Eph. v. 31.): *Sacramentum hoc* etc.

⁽³⁾ Compare above § 190. note 1. A distinction, however, should be made, viz., *prior* to the fall matrimony was instituted ad officiam, *posterior* to it ad remedium (propter illicitum motum devitandum); see Lombard l. c. Dist. xvi. B. Thomas Aquinas Qu. 42. Art. 2. Conclus.

(4) Peter Lombard l. c. : Dist. xxxi. Litt. B. : Separatio autem gemina est, corporalis scilicet et sacramentalis. Corporaliter possunt separari causa fornicationis, vel ex communi consensu causa religionis, sive ad tempus sive usque in finem. Sacramentaliter vero separari non possunt dum vivunt, si legitimæ personæ sint. Manet enim vinculum conjugale inter eos, etiamsi aliis a se discedentes adhæserint.—Eugen. IV. in Conc. Florent. l. c. : Quamvis autem ex causa fornicationis liceat tori divisionem facere, non tamen aliud matrimonium contrahere fas est, cum matrimonii vinculum legitime contracti perpetuum sit. The notions of the Greeks concerning the indissolubility of matrimony are less rigid ; the Nestorians alone form an exception ; see Klee ii. p. 297. 98.

(5) The theologians of that time treated of all those regulations in their works on dogmatic theology. Peter Lombard had set them an example, Comp. Dist. xxiv.-xliii.—Many definitions of Peter Lombard, Bonaventura, and others, do not at all belong to the idea of the *sacrament*, such as, that matrimony is conjunctio legitima maris et fœminæ, individuum vitæ consuetudinem retinens, etc. The same may be said with regard to their statements, that the design of matrimony is the propagation of the human race, to be a safeguard against sin, etc.

(6) Thom. Aqu. Qu. 53. Art. 3. : Ordo sacer de sui ratione habet ex quadam congruentia, quod matrimonium impediri debeat, quia in sacris Ordinibus constituti sacra vasa et sacramenta tractant, et ideo decens est ut munditiam corporalem per continentiam servent. Sed quod impediatur matrimonium, ex constitutione ecclesiæ habet. Tamen aliter apud Latinos, quam apud Græcos. Quia apud Græcos impedit matrimonium contrahendum solum ex vi Ordinis, sed apud Latinos impedit ex vi Ordinis et ulterius ex voto continentiae, quod est Ordinibus sacris annexum : quod etiamsi quis verbotenus non emittat, ex hoc ipso tamen quod Ordinem suscipit secundum ritum occidentalis ecclesiæ, intelligitur emisisse. Et ideo apud Græcos et alios Orientales sacer Ordo impedit matrimonium contrahendum, non tamen matrimonii prius contracti usum : possunt enim matrimonio prius contracto uti, quamvis non possunt matrimonium denuo contrahere. Sed apud occidentalem ecclesiam impedit matrimonium et matrimonii usum, nisi forte ignorante aut contradicente uxore vir ordinem sacrum suscepit, quia ex hoc non potest ei aliquod præjudicium

generari. The priests, on the one hand, are excluded from the sacrament of matrimony, nor are the laity, on the other, under the necessity of keeping it. Therefore matrimony is neither a sacramentum necessitatis, as baptism, penance, and the Lord's Supper, nor a sacramentum dignitatis, as Holy Orders, but a sacramentum consilii. Alanus ab Insulis in his expositio, (quoted by Klee ii. p. 304. note.)

Protestant writers on the history of doctrines cannot well be expected fully to investigate the history of each separate sacrament. But this much appears to be certain, that it is exceedingly difficult, in the case of most of the so-called sacraments, to prove that they are founded upon a definite idea of sacrament according to the canon established by the Church itself. In the case of some (such as penance, the ordination of priests, and matrimony) we have no visible element, properly speaking, which might be regarded as *sacrae rei signum* (as the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, or the water of baptism, or the *χρῆσμα*), unless we convert into the symbol that which ought to be *res sacramenti*. In the case of others, the *divina institutio* is either altogether wanting (*e. g.*, in the case of confirmation), or it can only be demonstrated by that sort of interpretation by which we may prove anything (thus in the case of extreme unction.) But as theologians were accustomed to regard the external element in the Lord's Supper as mere *accidens*, and thus destroyed its originally *symbolical* character, they did not think it necessary to be very precise in the case of other sacraments. And as for the *divina institutio*, they were at liberty to appeal not only to Scripture, but also to tradition.

SEVENTH SECTION.

ESCHATOLOGY.

§ 202.

MILLENNARIANISM. THE APPROACHING END OF THE
WORLD. ANTICHRIST.

Though Millenarianism had been rejected by the earlier Church, it was nevertheless from time to time revived by the heretical sects of the present age. Millenarian notions were propounded in the prophecies of *Joachim*, Abbot of Flore, and the *Evangelium æternum* of the Fratricelli which was based upon the former.⁽¹⁾ The dynasty of the Father and the Son was to be followed by the golden age, viz., the dynasty of the Holy Spirit.⁽²⁾ On the other hand, the almost universal expectation of the approaching end of the world, which was to take place about the year 1000, was founded upon a too literal interpretation of Scripture, rather than upon Millenarian enthusiasm. A similar expectation repeatedly manifested itself at other important epochs of the middle ages.⁽³⁾ It was connected with the expectation of Antichrist, concerning whom several theologians ventured to throw out various suggestions, while many of those who were enemies to the Romish

hierarchy, thought that he was none but the Pope himself.⁽⁴⁾ This notion was transmitted to the age of the Reformation.

⁽¹⁾ Admiranda expositio venerabilis abbatis Joachimi in librum apocalypsis b. Joannis Apostoli et Evangelistæ.—Liber concordiæ novi ac veteris Testamenti—Psalterium decem choridarum—Interpretatio in Jeremiam Prophetam. Comp. *Engelhardt*, kirchenhistor, Abhandlungen p. 1. 150. *Lücke*, Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis p. 519.—*Gieseler* ii. 2. § 70. p. 357.—[On the Fratricelli who originally belonged to the order of the Franciscan monks, but were excommunicated in the 14th century, comp. *Gieseler* ii. 3. § 111. p. 192 ss.]

⁽²⁾ The first status lasts 5000 years (from Adam to Christ), the second lasts 1000 years from Christ to the commencement of the last age of the world. This last age is the seventh sabbatical period of a thousand years. Joachim further divided the ages of the world into forty-two generations (ætates) according to the forty-two ages in the genealogy of Christ, etc.

⁽³⁾ “ *It was a prevailing tradition among commentators, that the period of a thousand years, spoken of in Rev. xx., commenced with the manifestation, or the passion of Christ, and that the establishment of the Christian Church was to be regarded as the first resurrection, and the first epoch of the period of a thousand years. This interpretation, which had been adopted in the West, especially from the time of Augustine, had the advantage of precluding the fancies of millennarian enthusiasts, and accustoming the minds of Christians to a more spiritual apprehension of the Apocalypse. But the tradition of the Church had not decided whether the computation of the thousand years was to be founded upon the common system of chronology, or whether that number was to be looked upon as an apocalyptic symbol. Inasmuch as the literal interpretation was generally adopted, the notion began to spread, in the Christian world, with the approach of the year 1000—that, in accordance with Scripture, the millennial kingdom would come to a close at the completion of the first period of a thousand years after Christ—that, further, Antichrist would then appear,*

and the end of the world take place." Lücke l. c. p. 514-15. On the commotions which happened at that time in the Church, comp. Trithemii chronic. Hirsaug. ad ann. 960. Glaber Radulphus, hist. sui temp. Lib. iv. c. 6. (in Duchesne, scriptt. Francorum T. iv. p. 22 ss.) Schmid, Geschichte des Mysticismus im Mittelalter, p. 89. Gieseler, ii. 1. p. 229. The crusades were also connected with millenarian expectations, see Corrodi ii. p. 522 ss. Schmid l. c.—When, in the course of the fourteenth century, the plague, famine, and other divine punishments, reminded men of the uncertainty of all that is earthly, and signs were seen in the heavens, it was especially the Flagellantes who announced that the end of the world was nigh at hand; the same was done by Martin Loquis, a native of Moravia, and priest of the Taborites, see Schröckh, xxxiv. p. 687.

(4) Comp. John Damascenus de fide orthod. iv. 26. Elucidarium c. 68.^a It was the prevailing opinion during the middle ages, that Antichrist would either be brought forth by a virgin, or be the offspring of a bishop and a nun. About the year 950, Adso, a monk in a monastery of western Franconia, wrote a treatise on Antichrist, in which he assigned a later time to his coming, and also to the end of the world (see Schröckh Kirchengesch. xxi. p. 243.) He did not distinctly state whom he meant to be understood by Antichrist. For a time it was thought that Mohammed was the Antichrist. He was thus designated by Pope Innocent III. (A. D. 1213.) The numeral 666 indicated the period of his dominion which was therefore now about to come to an end. The antichristian prophets spoken of in the book of Revelation, seemed to denote the heresy which spread, with increased rapidity, from the close of the twelfth century. On the other hand, during the struggles which the German emperors had with the popes, it happened more than once that the former applied the title Antichrist to the latter; we find instances of this as early as the times of the Hohenstaufen. Emperor Lewis, surnamed the Bavarian, also called Pope John XXII. the *mystical* Antichrist (Schröckh xxxi. p. 108.) The fanatical sects of the middle ages agreed, for the most part, in giving that name to the popes. Thus Amalrich of Bena taught: quia Papa esset Anti-

^a Concerning this work, which was formerly ascribed to Anselm, see Schröckh. xxviii. p. 427.

christus et Roma Babylon et ipse sedet in monte Oliveti, *i. e.*, in pinguedine potestatis (according to Cæsarius of Heisterbach), comp. Engelhardt, Kirchenhistorische Abhandlungen p. 256. The same was done by the Spirituales, etc. Engelhardt l. c. p. 54. 56. 78. 88. Lücke l. c. p. 520–21. *Wycliffe* himself agreed with them (Trialogus quoted by Schröckh xxxiv. p. 509.), as well as his disciples, *Lewis Cobham* (ibid. p. 557.) and *Janow*: Liber de Antichristo et membrorum eius anatomia (in Historia et monumentis Joh. Huss. P. i. p. 423–464. quoted by Schröckh l. c. p. 572.) Most of the orthodox theologians, *e. g.*, Thomas Aquinas, were opposed to all literal interpretation of the Apocalypse. On the other hand, there were some, such as Roger Bacon, who delighted in apocalyptical interpretations, and calculations of time. See his Opus majus ed. *Jebb.* p. 169. Lücke l. c. p. 522.

§ 203.

THE INFLUENCE WHICH THE MIND OF THE AGE AND CHRISTIAN ART EXERTED UPON ESCHATOLOGY.

The mind of the age manifested itself in the works of Christian art,⁽¹⁾ in which those subjects were preferred which had reference to the doctrine of the last things. While the hymn "*Dies iræ*"⁽²⁾ sounded the terrors of the general judgment into the ears of Christians, painters employed their talents in keeping alive in the minds of men a remembrance of the end of all things, by their representations of the dances of death, and of the general judgment,⁽³⁾ and *Dante* disclosed in his *Divina Comedia* the worlds of hell, purgatory, and paradise.⁽⁴⁾ There was an evident reaction between those works of imagination, on the one hand, and the subtile reasonings and definitions of the scholastics on the other, so that the one may be explained by the other.

(¹) Thus most of the magnificent cathedrals on the continent were built at that very time, when the end of all things was supposed to be nigh at hand; see Gieseler ii. 1. § 27. note h.

(²) The author of it was Thomas of Cellano; see *Lisco*, *Dies iræ*, Hymnus auf das Weltgericht, Berlin 1840. 4.

(³) *Grüneisen*, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Beurtheilung der Todtentänze (im Kunstblatte zum Morgenblatt. 1830. No. 22–26.) and his *Nicholas Manuel* p. 73.

(⁴) Dante Alighieri was born A. D. 1265. and died A. D. 1321. (as a theologian he belonged to the school of Thomas Aquinas.) There are German translations of his *divina commedia* by Streckfuss, Philalethes, Gusek, Kopish, and others. [The Vision, or Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, of *Dante Alighieri*. Translated by the *Rev. H. T. Cary*, A.M. Lond. a new edit. 1841.]

§ 204.

THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY.

The resurrection of the human body, with all its component parts, was, from the time of Jerome and Augustine, regarded as the orthodox doctrine of the Catholic Church. *John Scotus Erigena* adopted rather the earlier notions of Origen,⁽¹⁾ but his views did not obtain the approbation of orthodox theologians. On the other hand, the Bogomiles, Cathari, and other heretical sects, revived the erroneous notion of the Gnostics, who, looking upon matter as the origin of sin, rejected the resurrection of the body.⁽²⁾ *Moneta*, a Dominican monk, defended the ecclesiastical doctrine in opposition to the Cathari.⁽³⁾ It was then further developed by the scholastics,⁽⁴⁾ especially by *Thomas Aquinas*, in whose writings we meet with many strange conjectures respecting the nature of the resurrection-body.⁽⁵⁾ The theologians of the Greek Church held more closely to Scripture and the received tradition of the Church.

(¹) De div. nat. iv. 12. 13. p. 192. : Omne siquidem quod in mundo ex mundo compositum incipit esse, necesse est resolvi et cum mundo interire. Necessarium erat exterius ac materiale corpus solvi in ea elementa ex quibus assumptum est : non autem necessarium perire, quoniam ex Deo erat, manente semper interiori illo et incommutabiliter stante in suis rationibus, secundum quas cum anima et in anima et per animam et propter animam constitutum est. Quoniam vero illius corporis materialis atque solubilis manet in anima species, non solum illo vivente, verum etiam post ejus solutionem et in elementa mundi reditum. Est enim exterius et materiale corpus signaculum interioris, in quo forma animæ exprimitur, et per hoc forma ejus rationabiliter appellatur. Et ne me existimes duo corpora naturalia in uno homine docere : verum enim est corpus, quo connaturaliter et consubstantialiter animæ compacto homo conficitur. Illud siquidem materiale quod est superadditum, rectius vestimentum quoddam mutabile et corruptibile veri ac naturalis corporis accipitur quam verum corpus ; non enim verum est quod semper non manet (Aug.).....Inde fit quod semper non simpliciter, sed cum additamento aliquo ponitur corpus mortale vel corruptibile vel terrenum vel animale, ad discretionem ipsius simplicis corporis, quod primitus in homine editum est, et quod futurum est.—Cfr. ii. 23. p. 71. : Semel enim et simul animas nostras et corpora in Paradiso conditor creavit, corpora dico cœlestia, *spiritualia, qualia post resurrectionem futura sunt*. Tumida namque corpora, mortalia, corruptibilia, quibus nunc opprimimur, non ex natura, sed ex delicto occasionem ducere, non est dubitandum. Quod ergo naturæ ex peccato adolevit, eo profecto renovata in Christo, et in pristinum statum restituta, carebit. Non enim potest naturæ esse, coæternum, quod ei adhæret propter peccatum.

(²) The Beguines are said to have asserted, quod mortuo corpore hominis solus spiritus vel anima hominis redibit ad eum, unde exivit et cum eo sic reunietur, quod nihil remanebit, nisi quod ab æterno fuit Deus. quoted by Mosheim p. 257. 58. compare § 206. note 9.—On the notions of the Bogomiles, see Engelhardt, Kirchenhistorische Abhandlungen p. 187. 88.

(³) Summa adv. Catharos Lib. iv. Cap. 7. § 1.

(⁴) Lomb. Sent. Lib. iv. Dist. 43 ss. (he follows for the most part Augustine's Enchiridion and Hugo of St Victor de Sacram.

ii. 1. 19.) In the subsequent part he modestly expresses himself as follows: *Omnibus quæstionibus, quæ de hac re moveri solent, satisfacere non valeo.*

(5) These definitions are also for the greatest part founded upon Augustine (comp. vol. i. p. 377-79.) All men shall die previous to the general resurrection (on account of original sin); the resurrection will probably take place towards evening, for the heavenly bodies which rule over all earthly matter must first cease to move. Sun and moon will then meet again in that point where they were probably created. The resurrection will take place suddenly in relation to the effects produced by the Divine power, it will be gradual in relation to the part the angels will have in it. Thomas Aquinas denied that dust and ashes have a natural tendency to re-unite themselves to the souls to which they had been united in this world, but supposed that no other substance would rise from the grave, than that which existed in the moment of death. If that substance were to rise again which has been consumed during the present life, it would form a most unshapely mass. According to Qu. 81. those who are raised from the dead, will be in the *ætas juvenilis, quæ inter decrementum et incrementum constituitur.* The difference of sexes will continue to exist, but without sensual appetites. All the organs of sense will still be active, with the exception of the sense of taste. It is however possible that even the latter may be rendered more perfect, and fitted for adequate functions and enjoyments. Hair and nails are one of the ornaments of man, and are therefore quite as necessary as blood and other fluids. The resurrection-bodies will be exceedingly fine, and be delivered from the heavy weight which is now so burdensome to them; nevertheless they will be tangible, as the body of Christ could be touched after his resurrection. Their size will not increase after the resurrection, nor will they grow either thicker or thinner. To some extent they will also depend on space and time, yet the resurrection-bodies will move much faster, and more easily, from one place to another, than our present bodies; they will be at liberty to follow the tendency and impulses of the soul. They are glorified, bright, and shining, and can be perceived with glorified eyes alone. But this is true only in reference to the bodies of the blessed. The bodies of the damned are ugly and

deformed ; they are incorruptible, but capable of suffering, which is not the case with the bodies of the saints. Thom. Aquinas Summ. P. iii. in Supplem. Qu. 75 ss. Cramer vii. p. 777 ss. Comp. also Elucidar. c. 69.

(6) Joh. Dam. iv. 27. p. 303. : *Ἄλλ' ἔρεί τις πῶς ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροί ; ὡ τῆς ἀπιστίας· ὡ τῆς ἀφροσύνης· ὁ χούν εἰς σῶμα βουλήσει μόνη μεταβαλὼν, ὁ μικρὰν ῥανίδα τοῦ σπέρματος ἐν τῇ μήτρᾳ αὐξείν προστάξας, καὶ τὸ πολυειδὲς τοῦτο καὶ πολύμορφον ἀποτελεῖν τοῦ σώματος ὄργανον, οὐχὶ μᾶλλον τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ διαρρῦέν ἀναστήσει πάλιν, μόνον βουληθεῖς ; ποίῳ δὲ σώματι ἔρχονται ; ἄφρον, εἰ τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγοις πιστεύειν ἢ πώρωσις οὐ συγχωρεῖ, κὰν τοῖς ἔργοις πίστευε· σὺ γὰρ ὁ σπείρεις, οὐ ζωοποιεῖται, ἐὰν μὴ ἀποθάνῃ κ· τ. λ. (1. Cor. xv.). Θέασαι τοίνυν, ὡς ἐν τάφοις ταῖς αὐλαξί τὰ σπέρματα καταχωννύμενα· τίς ὁ τούτοις ῥίζας ἐντιθεῖς, καλάμην καὶ φύλλα, καὶ ἀστάχυς καὶ τοὺς λεπτοτάτους ἀνθήρικας ; οὐχ ὁ τῶν ὄλων δημιουργός ; οὐ τοῦ τὰ πάντα τεκτονημένου τὸ πρόσταγμα ; οὕτω τοίνυν πίστευε, καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἔσεσθαι θείᾳ βουλήσει, καὶ νεύματι· σύνδρομον γὰρ ἔχει τῇ βουλήσει τὴν δύναμιν.*

§ 205.

THE GENERAL JUDGMENT.

The second advent of our Lord, in order to judge the world, was interpreted as literally as possible. After it has been preceded by those signs of which Scripture speaks, Christ will appear in the same human form which he had when on earth, but in his glorified body, and as conqueror, accompanied by the heavenly hosts. The wicked, too, will behold his countenance, but with horror.⁽¹⁾ The judgment was supposed to take place in the valley of Josaphat, to which some, however, applied also allegorical interpretation.⁽²⁾ But the more theologians were disposed to give free scope to their imagination, and to represent the proceedings of the general judgment in a sensuous manner, the

greater was the difficulty to unite in a single scene those various ideas.⁽³⁾ *Thomas Aquinas* therefore asserted that the judgment would take place *mentaliter*, because the verbal trial and defence of each individual would require too much time.⁽⁴⁾ According to Matt. xix. 28, and 1 Cor. vi. 2, the saints shall sit with Christ in judgment; and inasmuch as monks were supposed to attain to the highest degree of perfection even in this world, the power which was committed into their hands by the institution of the inquisition would easily familiarize men with the idea of being also judged by them in the world to come.⁽⁵⁾ It was natural that the heretics should beg to be excused from such a judgment; in accordance with their entire idealistic tendency, they preferred resolving the idea of a *general* judgment into the more comprehensive notion of a retribution immediately after death.⁽⁶⁾

(1) Thom. Aqu. l. c. qu. 73. Art. 1: Christus...in forma gloriosa apparebit propter auctoritatem, quae judici debetur. Ad dignitatem autem judiciariæ potestatis pertinet habere aliqua indicia, quæ ad reverentiam et subjectionem inducant, et ideo adventum Christi ad iudicium venientis multa signa præcedent, ut corda hominum in subjectionem venturi iudicis adducantur et ad iudicium præparentur, hujusmodi signis præmoniti. Comp. Elucid. c. 70. *Disc.* Qualiter veniet Dominus ad iudicium? *Mag.* Sicut Imperator ingressurus civitatem, corona ejus et alia insignia præferuntur, per quæ adventus ejus cognoscitur: ita Christus in ea forma qua ascendit, cum Ordinibus omnibus Angelorum ad iudicium veniens: Angeli crucem ejus ferentes præibunt: mortuos tuba et voce in occursum ejus excitabunt. Omnia elementa turbabuntur, tempestate ignis et frigoris mixtim undique furente. (Ps. xvi. Wisd. v.)—Respecting the damned it is said, c. 75: videbunt (Christum), sed ad sui perniciem. Comp. Thom. Aqu. qu. 90. Art. 3.

(2) Elucid. l. c. D. Erit iudicium in valle Josaphat? M. Vallis Josaphat dicitur vallis iudicii. Vallis est semper juxta montem.

Vallis est hic mundus, mons est cœlum. In valle ergo fit iudicium, i. e. in isto mundo, scilicet in isto aere, ubi iusti ad dexteram Christi ut oves statuentur, impii autem ut hoedi ad sinistram ponentur. Comp. Thom. Aqu. qu. 88. Art. 4.

⁽³⁾ Thus Thomas Aquinas was at a loss to account for what is said concerning the sun and the moon (Matt. xxiv. 29.), inasmuch as the coming of Christ will be accompanied by the fullest effusion of light, l. c. qu. 73. Art. 2: Dicendum quod si loquamur de sole et luna, quantum ad ipsum momentum adventus Christi, sic non est credibile quod obscurabuntur sui luminis privatione, quia totus mundus innovabitur Christo veniente..... Si autem loquamur de eis secundum tempus propinquum ante iudicium, sic esse poterit quod sol et luna et alia cœli luminaria, sui luminis privatione obscurabuntur, vel diversis temporibus, vel simul, divina virtute faciente ad hominum terrorem.

⁽⁴⁾ l. c. qu. 88. Art. 2. conclusio.

⁽⁵⁾ In the work entitled *Elucidarium*, four classes are distinguished (instead of two as was usual, viz., the blessed and the damned), c. 71: Unus ordo est *perfectorum, cum Deo iudicantium*, alter justorum, qui per iudicium salvantur, tertius impiorum sine iudicio pereuntium, quartus malorum, qui per iudicium damnantur.... *Disc.* Qui sunt qui iudicant? M. Apostoli, Martyres, Confessores, *Monachi*, Virgines. D. Quomodo iudicabunt justos? Monstrabunt eos suam doctrinam et sua exempla fuisse imitatos, et ideo regno dignos. Petr. Lomb. Lib. iv. Dist. xlvii. B.: Non autem solus Christus iudicabit, sed et sancti cum eo iudicabunt nationes.... Iudicabunt vero non modo cooperatione, sed etiam auctoritate et potestate. Compare Thomas Aquinas Qu. 89. where he examines the question, whether the righteous will take part in the judgment of the world merely for the sake of honour (assessorie), or in reality. As the former would be too little, we may assume that they will judge in reality, provided they do so in accordance with the Divine will, but not propria auctoritate. On the question, whether the angels will also take part in the judgment, see Peter Lombard l. c. Litt. C. Thomas Aquinas Art. 8.

⁽⁶⁾ See Mosheim p. 157: Dicunt se credere, quod iudicium extremum non sit futurum, sed quod tunc est iudicium hominis solum, cum moritur.

§ 206.

PURGATORY.

From the time of Gregory the Great, the doctrine of a purifying fire through which the souls have to pass after death, was more generally adopted. The belief in it was strengthened by facts furnished by legends.⁽¹⁾ Missionaries carried this notion, already developed and complete, to the nations which were newly converted,⁽²⁾ and the writers of the present age, the scholastics as well as poets and orators, gave the fullest description of it. Many believed in the real existence of purgatory as a material fire,⁽³⁾ which, however, in the absence of a body susceptible of physical sufferings, torments the lost souls in an ideal manner.⁽⁴⁾ Even some of those who leaned towards mysticism, such as *Bonaventura* and *Gerson*,⁽⁵⁾ maintained the reality of that fire. But the practical consequences of the doctrine in question were highly pernicious, since it gave rise to the notion, that souls might be relieved from their pains, or even delivered from their state of suffering sooner than would otherwise have been the case, by means of the intercessory prayers and good works of the living, and especially by means of the masses for the dead (*missæ pro requie defunctorum*).⁽⁶⁾ Inasmuch as these masses and ecclesiastical indulgences were paid for, the question was started, whether the rich were not, in this respect, more privileged than the poor, to which Peter Lombard replied in the affirmative. Therefore, it is not surprising that the increasing avarice and injustice of the clergy⁽⁸⁾ should have induced the Cathari and Waldenses,⁽⁹⁾ as well as *Wycliffe*,⁽¹⁰⁾ to combat the doctrine in question as a most dangerous one. It never

met with the full approbation of the Greek Church.⁽¹¹⁾ On the other hand, *John Wessel* endeavoured to divest it of its pernicious consequences, by regarding the fire as a spiritual fire of love, which purifies the soul from its remaining dross, and consists in the longing after union with God. Accordingly, it is not so much a punishment as the commencement of a blessedness which God alone has the power of bringing to perfection.⁽¹²⁾

(1) Beda Hist. eccles. gent. Anglor. L. iii. c. 19. v. c. 13. Schröckh xx. p. 185.

(2) Bonifac. Ep. xxi. c. 29. ad Serrar. quoted by Schröckh l. c. On the doctrine of purgatory, as propounded by St Patrick, the apostle of Ireland (according to the account of Matthew Paris) see Schröckh xvi. p. 229.

(3) The author of the work entitled *Elucidarium*, expresses himself still more indefinitely; c. 61.: *Post mortem vero purgatio erit aut nimius calor ignis, aut magnus rigor frigoris, aut aliud quodlibet genus pœnarum, de quibus tamen minimum majus est, quam maximum quod in hac vita excogitari potest.*—Hugo of St Victor, de sacram. L. ii. P. xvi. c. 4. *Est autem alia pœna post mortem, quae purgatoria dicitur. In qua qui ab hac vita cum quibusdam culpis, justi tamen et ad vitam prædestinati exierunt, ad tempus cruciantur, ut purgentur.* The language of Thomas Aquinas is more decided, qu. 70. Art. 3. Concl.: *Respondeo dicendum, quod ignis inferni^a non sit metaphorice dictus, nec ignis imaginarius, sed verus ignis corporeus, etc.* He thought, however, that it is not all men who go to purgatory, but only those who require it. The truly pious go at once to heaven, the decidedly wicked go at once to hell; see Qu. 69. Art. 2.

(4) Compare Thomas Aquinas l. c.: *Alii dixerunt, quod quamvis ignis corporeus non possit animam exurere, tamen anima apprehendit ipsum ut nocivum sibi et ad talem apprehensionem afficitur timore et dolore.* But this notion did not satisfy him fully. Comp. Cramer vii. p. 773–75.

(5) Bonav. Comp. theol. verit. vii. 2. (quoted by Klee ii. p. 333.) comp. Schröckh xxix. p. 219.—Concerning the views of

^a By which we are to understand the fire of purgatory, as the context shows.

Gerson (according to Sermo ii. de defunctis T. iii. p. 1558.), see Schröckh xxxiv. p. 293.

(⁶) Elucidar. c. 61.: Dum ibi sunt positi, apparent eis Angeli vel alii Sancti, in quorum honore aliquid egerunt in hac vita, et aut auram aut suavem odorem aut aliquod solamen eis impendunt, usque dum liberati introibunt in illam aulam, quæ non recipit ullam maculam. Petr. Lomb. Lib. iv. Dist. xlv. B. Thom. Aqu. 71. Art. 1. In his opinion, intercessory prayers (opera suffragii) do not avail per viam meriti, but per viam orationis.— He expressed himself very cautiously Art. 2. Concl.: Respondeo dicendum, quod charitas, quæ est vinculum, ecclesiæ membra uniens, non solum ad vivos se extendit, sed etiam ad mortuos, qui in charitate decedunt.... Similiter etiam mortui in memoriis hominum viventium vivunt, et ideo intentio viventium ad eos dirigi potest, et sic suffragia vivorum mortuis dupliciter prosunt, sicut et vivis, et propter charitatis unionem, et propter intentionem in eos directam: non tamen sic eis valere credenda sunt vivorum suffragia, ut status eorum mutetur de miseria ad felicitatem vel e converso; sed valent ad *diminutionem pœnæ* vel aliquid hujusmodi, *quod statum mortui non transmutat*. Comp. Art. 6: Respondeo dicendum, quod pœna purgatorii est in supplementum satisfactionis, quæ non fuerat plene in corpore consummata, et ideo quia opera unius possunt valere alteri ad satisfactionem sive vivus sive mortuus fuerit, non est dubium, quin suffragia per vivos facta, existentibus in purgatorio prosint. Compare Art. 10. concerning indulgences. They are useful to the souls in purgatory indirecte, but not directe. Respecting the festival founded on this doctrine, which was first instituted in Clugny A. D. 993, and afterwards adopted by the whole Western Church (All-Souls, Nov. 2d.) see Sigebert. Gemblacens. ad annum 998. Gieseler ii. l. p. 275. § 33. note q. p.

(⁷) Lib. iv. Dist. xlv. D.: Solet moveri quæstio de duobus, uno divite, altero paupere, pariter sed mediocriter bonis, qui prædictis suffragiis indigent, et meruerunt pariter post mortem juvari: pro altero viro, i. e. pro divite speciales et communes fiunt orationes, multæque eleemosynarum largitiones, pro paupere vero non fiunt nisi communes largitiones et orationes. Quæritur ergo an tantum juvetur pauper paucioribus subsidiis, quantum dives amplioribus? Si non pariter juvatur, non ei redditur secundum

merita. Meruit enim pariter juvari, quia pariter boni extiterunt. Si vero tantum suffragii consequitur pauper, quantum dives; quid contulerunt diviti illa specialiter pro eo facta? Sane dici potest non ei magis valuisse generalia et specialia, quam pauperi sola generalia suffragia. Et tamen profuerunt diviti specialia, non quidem ad aliud vel majus aliquid, sed ad idem ad quod generalia, ut ex pluribus et diversis causis unum perciperetur emolumentum. *Potest tamen dici aliter, illa plura subsidia contulisse diviti celeriorem absolutionem, non pleniorum.*

(⁸) See the works on ecclesiastical history. *This* superstition was also combated by the friar Berthold. See Kling p. 396.

(⁹) Moneta l. iv. c. 9. § 2: Dicit ecclesia purgatorium esse post hanc vitam animabus quæ de hoc mundo migraverunt inchoata condigna pœnitentia, sed nondum perfecta. Omnes autem hæretici tam Cathari, quam Pauperes Lugdunenses a quodam qui dicebatur Valdisius derivati, hoc negant. The Beguines also denied, quod non est infernus, nec purgatorium; see Mosheim p. 257.

(¹⁰) Schröckh Kirchengesch. xxxiv. p. 444. The Hussites (Bohemian brethren) also questioned the reality of purgatory; *ibid.* p. 753–54.

(¹¹) Nevertheless the Greek Church was compelled, by the Council of Florence (A. D. 1439.), to make some concessions. See Mansi T. xxxi. Col. 1029. Münscher ed. by von Cölln p. 313–14. Therefore *Leo Allatius* asserted, that the Eastern and Western Churches agreed in this point in *de ecclesiæ occidentalis et orientalis perpetua in dogmate de purgatorio concessione*. Rom. 1655. 4°.

(¹²) *De purgatorio, quis et qualis sit ignis purgatorius*, in the edition of Gron. p. 826 ss. quoted by Ullmann, Joh. Wessel p. 363 ss.

On the locality of Purgatory, see § 208.

§ 207.

THE SLEEP OF THE SOUL.

The doctrine of purgatory had had its origin in the necessity which men felt of supposing the existence of

a place where the soul, separated from the body, might dwell, until its reunion with it. The assumption of the possibility of the soul's deliverance from this intermediate state, prior to the general resurrection, gave rise to new difficulties, inasmuch as it became necessary to make up the interval between those two moments of time. This led to a revival of the earlier notion of a death of the soul (which had been propounded by the false teachers of Arabia whom Origen combated), though under the milder form of a sleep of the soul (*Psychopannychy*).⁽¹⁾ It is, however, uncertain, whether Pope John XXII., as is asserted, really adopted this opinion.⁽²⁾ At all events, his views were opposed by the professors in the university of Paris,⁽³⁾ and disapproved of by Pope Benedict XII.⁽⁴⁾

⁽¹⁾ On the *Thnetopsychites*, see Vol. i. p. 215. §. 76. note 8. Respecting the notion of a sleep of the soul (which was rejected by Tertullian) see *ibid.* p. 217.

⁽²⁾ The idea of a sleep of the soul was by no means distinctly expressed in the words which were thought objectionable (they occur in a sermon preached on the first Sunday in Advent 1331); on the contrary, all that is contained in them is *quod animæ decidentium in gratia non videant Deum per essentiam, nec sint perfecte beatae, nisi post resumptionem corporis.*—This opinion perfectly agreed with the views of earlier theologians. *Comp.* Vol. i. p. 217. *Gieseler* ii. 3. p. 54 ss.

⁽³⁾ See *d'Argentree Collectio judic. T. i. p. 316 ss.* *Bulæus T. iv. p. 235.* *Gieseler l. c.* *Münscher ed. by von Cölln p. 312.*

⁽⁴⁾ A. D. 1366, Jan. 29th. See *Raynald ad hunc annum, No. 3.*—*Gieseler and Münscher ed. by von Cölln l. c.* On the pretended recantation of Pope John XXII. see *Gieseler l. c.*

§ 208.

HEAVEN, HELL, AND INTERMEDIATE STATES.

The scholastics endeavoured to extend their researches both over the bright regions of heaven, and the dark abodes of hell. Thus, heaven was divided into three parts, viz., the *visible* heaven (the firmament), the *spiritual* heaven, where saints and angels dwell, and the *intellectual* heaven, where the blessed enjoy the intuitive vision of the Triune Jehovah.⁽¹⁾ Different departments (receptacula) were also ascribed to hell.⁽²⁾ These were, 1. Hell, properly so called, where the devils and the damned are confined;⁽³⁾ 2. Those subterranean regions which may be regarded as the intermediate states between heaven and hell, and be again subdivided into (*a*,) Purgatory, which lies nearest to hell;⁽⁴⁾ (*b*,) The limbus infantum (puerorum), where all those children remain who die unbaptized;⁽⁵⁾ (*c*,) The limbus patrum, the abode of the Old Testament saints, the place to which Christ went to preach redemption to the souls in prison. The limbus last mentioned was also called Abraham's bosom; different opinions obtained concerning its relation to heaven and hell.⁽⁶⁾ These definitions were rejected by the mystics, who adopted a more spiritual interpretation, and assigned an inward signification to that which the scholastics regarded as external.⁽⁷⁾

(1) Elucidarium c. 3.—Paradise was also supposed to be there. Comp. c. 50. and note 7.

(2) Petr. Lomb. Lib. iv. Dist. xlv. A. Thom. Aqu. Qu. 69. Art. 1. ss. Cramer vii. p. 771–73.

(3) Elucidar. c. 62. D. : Quid est infernus? vel ubi? M. Duo sunt inferni, superior et inferior. Superior infima pars hujus

mundi, quæ plena est pœnis, nam hic exundat nimius æstus, magnum frigus etc. Inferior vero est locus spiritualis, ubi ignis inextinguibilis.....Qui sub terra dicitur esse, ut sicut corpora peccantium terra cooperiuntur, ita animæ peccantium sub terra in inferno sepeliuntur.^a

⁽⁴⁾ See above §. 206.

⁽⁵⁾ According to Thomas Aquinas Qu. 69. Art. 6. the limbus puerorum is distinguished from the limbus patrum, secundum qualitatem præmii vel pœnæ, because children who die without baptism have not that hope of eternal salvation which the fathers had prior to the manifestation of Christ. As regards the site (situs), it is probable that the limbus puerorum lies nearer to hell than the limbus patrum. Others, however, identified the one with the other. Thus friar Berthold says (quoted by Kling p. 443.): "If your children die without baptism, or are baptized improperly, they can never enter into the heavenly joys. They go together with Jews and Gentiles, who are still in their unbelief, to the limbus to which those of old went. There they do not suffer any pain, except this, that they do not go to heaven," comp. p. 210. Those children who are baptized, ride in the little carriage (the constellation of the Little Bear) straight to heaven (paradise.) But if the child happened to be baptized improperly, one of the wheels breaks, and the child perishes. See *ibid.* p. 169. 70.

⁽⁶⁾ Thomas Aquinas treated of this point very fully, l. c. Art. 4. He made a distinction between the state *prior* to the coming of Christ, and that *posterior* to that event. Quia ante Christi adventum Sanctorum requies habebat defectum requiei adjunctum, dicebatur idem infernus et sinus Abrahæ, unde ibi non videbatur Deus. Sed quia post Christi adventum Sanctorum requies est completa, cum Deum videant, talis requies dicitur sinus Abrahæ, et nullo modo infernus. Et ad hunc sinum

^a The term "Hölle" (hell) had primarily the more comprehensive signification of the netherworld (whence the phrase occurs in the confessions of faith, "he descended into hell".) It was not till later (from the thirteenth century) that the word was used to denote the place of torment. Comp. Grimm's *deutsche Mythologie* p. 462.—"The Christians substituted, in the place of the heathenish notion of a pale and gloomy hell, that of a pool filled with flames and brimstone, pitchdark, and yet at the same time bright like fire, in which the souls of the damned are always burning." Grimm. l. c. p. 464. On the mixture of Christian with Gentile notions, *ibid.* p. 465.

Abrahæ ecclesia orat fideles perducere. Comp. Elucidar. 64. D. In quo inferno erant justi ante adventum Christi? M. In superiori, in quodam loco juncto inferiori, in quo poterant alterutrum conspiciere. Qui erant ibi, quamvis carerent supplicio, videbatur eis esse in inferno, cum essent separati a regno. Illis autem, qui erant in inferiori inferno videbatur, quod illi, qui erant in illo inferno juncto inferiori, erant in refrigerio paradisi, unde et dives rogabat a Lazaro, guttam super se stillari. D. Quam pœnam habebant illi, qui erant in illo inferno juncto inferiori? M. Quasdam tenebras tantum, unde dicitur: "*Habitantibus in regione umbræ mortis, lux orta est eis.*" Quidam ex eis erant in quibusdam pœnis. Venit ergo Dominus ad infernum superiorem nascendo, ut redimeret captivos a tyranno, ut dicitur: "*Dices his, qui vincti sunt, exite, et his qui in tenebris sunt, relevamini.*" Vinctos vocat, qui erant in pœnis, alios vero in tenebris, quos omnes absolvit et in gloriam duxit res gloriæ. Comp. Dante, divina comedia 4. comp. 31 ss.

(7) The author of the work entitled *Elucidarium* expressed himself as follows, c. 59. : Paradisus non est locus corporalis, quia spiritus non habitant in locis, sed est spiritualis mansio beatorum, quam æterna sapientia perfecit in initio, et est in intellectuali cœlo [comp. note 1.], ubi ipsa divinitas, qualis est, ab eis facie ad faciem contuetur.—The language of *Tauler* (*Predigten* i. p. 291. 292.) was still more spiritualizing :.....Christ granted to the thief on the cross "to behold himself, his Divine countenance and nature, which is the true and living paradise of all pleasures. To behold the glory of God is what constitutes paradise."^a

§ 209.

THE STATE OF THE BLESSED AND THE DAMNED.

Both the mind of the age, and the degree of cultivation to which theologians had attained, were reflected in their representations of heaven and hell. According

^a On the relation between the Christian notions of paradise commonly entertained, and the earlier ideas of heathen nations (the Walhalla), see Grimm, *deutsche Mythologie* p. 475.

to *John Scotus Erigena*, the spirit of man is resolved into God, a notion which he thought reconcileable with the idea of self-conscious continuance.⁽¹⁾ The pantheistic sects of the middle ages went so far as to destroy all individuality, and to deny the future existence of man.⁽²⁾ The scholastics, whose principal happiness in this world consisted in making the most subtle distinctions, supposed that it would be especially the greater perfection of our intellectual powers which would constitute the blessedness of heaven; *Duns Scotus* started such questions as, whether the blessed would perceive the quidditates of things, etc.⁽³⁾ The enjoyments of refined sensuality were not quite excluded, though it was admitted, that the highest and true pleasures consist principally in communion with God, and the mutual fellowship of the saints.⁽⁴⁾ *Thomas Aquinas* supposed different gifts (dotes) of blessedness. In addition to the corona aurea, which is given to all the blessed, there are particular *aureolæ* for martyrs and saints, for monks and nuns.⁽⁵⁾ The mystics also represented the world to come in bright colours.⁽⁶⁾ But the theologians of the present age exercised their powers of invention, especially in devising all sorts of ingenious punishments which the wicked would have to suffer in hell, after the example set before them by the horrible proceedings of the inquisition.⁽⁷⁾ According to *Thomas Aquinas*, the torments of the damned consist in useless repentance.⁽⁸⁾ They can neither change for the better nor for the worse.⁽⁹⁾ They hate God and curse the state of the blessed.⁽¹⁰⁾ But the latter are not disturbed in the enjoyment of their happiness by the feeling of compassion.⁽¹¹⁾ The views of *John Scotus Erigena* differed from the popular notion; he held that it is principally the consciousness of sin itself, and of its weakness, which constitute the misery of the damned.⁽¹²⁾

Master Eckart declared it to be spiritual nonentity,⁽¹³⁾ an expression from which the Beghards drew the hasty inference that hell had no existence.⁽¹⁴⁾

⁽¹⁾ De div. nat. v. 8. p. 232 : Prima igitur humanæ naturæ reversio est, quando corpus solvitur, in quatuor elementa sensibilis mundi, ex quibus compositum est, revocatur. Secunda in resurrectione implebitur, quando unusquisque suum proprium corpus ex communiione quatuor elementorum recipiet. Tertia, quando corpus in spiritum mutabitur. Quarta : quando spiritus et, ut apertius dicam, tota hominis natura in primordiales causas revertetur, quæ sunt semper et incommutabiliter in Deo. Quinta, quando ipsa natura cum suis causis movebitur in Deum, sicut aër movetur in lucem. Erit enim Deus omnia in omnibus : quando nihil erit nisi solus Deus.....Mutatio itaque humanæ naturæ in Deum, non in substantiæ interitu æstimanda est, sed in pristinum statum, quem prævaricando perdidit, mirabilis atque ineffabilis reversio, p. 234 :.....Inferiora vero a superioribus naturaliter attrahuntur et absorbentur, non ut non sint, sed ut in eis plus salventur et subsistant et unum sint. Nam neque aër suam perdit substantiam, cum totus in solare lumen convertitur : in tantum, ut nihil in eo appareat nisi lux, cum aliud sit lux, aliud aër : lux tamen prævalet in aëre, ut sola videatur esse. Ferrum aut aliud aliquod metallum in igne liquefactum, in ignem converti videtur, ut ignis purus videatur esse, salva metalli substantia permanente. Eadem ratione existimo corporalem substantiam in animam esse transituram : non ut pereat quod sit, sed ut in meliori essentia salva sit. Similiter de ipsa anima intelligendum, quod ita in intellectum movebitur, ut in eo pulchrior Deoque similior conservetur. Nie aliter dixerim de transitu, ut non adhuc dicam omnium, sed rationabilium substantiarum in Deum, in quo cuncta finem positura sunt, et unum erunt.—As the many separate lights (*e. g.* in a church) form together *one sea of light*, though every single light may be removed, as a part may be taken from the whole ; and as many voices form together *one chorus*, without losing their individuality in one confused mass of sounds, so are souls related to God. Comp. Chapt. 12. and 13. p. 236.

⁽²⁾ Thus Amalrich of Bena taught : He who possesses the

knowledge of God, has paradise *within* himself; but he who commits a mortal sin, has hell in his own heart, as a man has a bad tooth in his mouth. Compare Engelhardt p. 255. Concerning his followers it is said: Item semetipsos jam resuscitados asserebant, fidem et spem ab eorum cordibus excludebant, se soli scientiæ mentientes subjacere, *ibid.* p. 259. Comp. p. 260.: Dixit etiam (Amalricus) quod Deus ideo dicitur finis omnium, quia omnia reversura sunt in ipsum, ut in Deo immutabiliter quiescant, et unum individuum atque incommutabile in eo permanent, et sicut alterius naturæ non est Abraham, alterius Isaak, sed unius atque ejusdem, sic dixit omnia esse unum et omnia esse Deum. The Beguines made the same assertions.

(³) Joh. Scot. Erig. v. c. 31 ss.—Petr. Lomb. Lib. iv. Dist. 49. A: Habere ergo vitam, est *videre* vitam, *cognoscere* Deum in specie (according to John xvii.)—Elucid. 79: His (beatis) Salomonis sapientia esset magna insipientia. Porro ipsi omni sapientia affluunt; omnem scientiam de ipso fonte sapientiæ Dei hauriunt. Omnia quippe præterita, præsentia, et si qua futura sunt, perfecte sciunt. Omnium omnino hominum, sive in cœlo, sive in inferno, nomina, genera, opera bona vel mala unquam ab eis gesta norunt, et nihil est quod eos lateat, cum in sole justitiæ pariter videant omnia.—Thom. Aqu. Qu. 92. Art. 1. 2. 3.—Duns Scotus, quoted by Cramer vii. p. 786. 87.

(⁴) Elucid. 77: Salomonis deliciæ essent eis miseriæ. O qualis est justorum voluptas, quibus ipse Deus fons omnium bonorum est insatiabilis satians satietas. Duæ sunt beatitudines, una minor Paradisi, altera major cœlestis regni. (We have no idea of it, and can infer the notion of happiness only by way of negation from that of unhappiness.).....Sicut ferrum alicujus capiti si esset infixum et sic candens per omnia membra transiret, sicut ille dolorem haberet, ita ipsi per contrarium modum in omnibus membris suis interius et exterius voluptatem habent.....O qualem voluptatem visus ipsi habebunt, qui ita clausis sicut apertis oculis videbunt.....O qualis voluptas auditus illorum, quibus incessanter sonent harmoniæ cœlorum et concentus Angelorum, dulcisona organa omnium Sanctorum. Olfactio qualis, ubi suavissimum odorem de ipso suavitatis haurient, et odorem de Angelis et omnibus Sanctis percipient. Eia qualis voluptas gustus, ubi

epulantur et exultant in conspectu Dei, et cum apparuerit gloria Dei saturabuntur et ab ubertate domus ejus inebriabuntur (Ps. lxxvi. Ps. xvi. Ps. xxxv.) Voluptas tactus qualis, ubi omnia aspera et dura aberunt, et omnia blanda et suavia arridebunt.—Nor will the recollection of sins formerly committed, but now expiated, disturb the enjoyment of heavenly bliss. Cap. 79. Concerning the blessedness arising from the fellowship of the saints, see *ibidem*: Nihil plus cupient, quam habebunt, et nihil plus potest adjici gaudio eorum. Quod enim quisque in se non habuerit, in altero habebit, ut, v. g. Petrus in Joanne gloriam habebit virginitatis, Joannes in Petro gloriam passionis. Et ita gloria uniuscujusque erit omnium, et gloria omnium uniuscujusque erit.....O Deus quale gaudium habebunt, qui Patrem in Filio, et Verbum in Patre, et Spiritus Sancti charitatem in utroque, sicuti est, facie ad faciem semper videbunt. Gaudium habebunt de consortio Angelorum, gaudium de contubernio omnium Sanctorum.

⁽⁵⁾ According to Thomas Aquinas Qu. 95. Art. 2. the following distinction may be made between beatitudo and *dos*: *Dos* datur sine meritis, sed beatitudo non datur, sed redditur pro meritis. Præterea: beatitudo est una tantum, *dotes* vero sunt plures. Præterea: beatitudo inest homini secundum id quod est potissimum in eo, sed *dos* etiam in corpore ponitur.—According to Art. 5. there are 3 *dotes*: visio, quæ fidei, comprehensio, quæ spei, fruitio, quæ charitati respondet. On the relation in which the particular aureolæ stand to the corona (aurea), see Qu. 96. Art. 1.: præmium essenziale hominis, quod est ejus beatitudo, consistit in perfecta conjunctione animæ ad Deum, in quantum eo perfecte fruitur, ut viso et amato perfecte: hoc autem præmium metaphorice corona dicitur vel aurea; tum ex parte meriti quod cum quadam pugna agitur, tum etiam ex parte præmii, per quod homo efficitur quodammodo divinitatis particeps, et per consequens regiæ potestatis.....Significat etiam corona perfectionem quandam ratione figuræ circularis, ut ex hoc etiam competat perfectioni beatorum. Sed quia nihil potest superaddi essentiali, quin sit eo minus: ideo superadditum præmium aureola nominatur. Huic autem essentiali præmio, quod aurea dicitur, aliquid superadditur dupliciter. Uno modo ex conditione naturæ ejus, qui præmiatur, sicut supra beatitudinem animæ gloria corporis

adjungitur, unde et ipsa gloria corporis interdum aureola nominatur.....Alio modo ex ratione operis meritorii, etc. In Art. 2. aureola is further distinguished from fructus: Fructus consistit in gaudio habito de dispositione ipsius operantis, aureola in gaudio perfectionis operum (the one is the subjective reward, the other the objective one), compare the subsequent articles.

⁽⁶⁾ *Suso*, von der unmässigen Freude des Himmelreichs (quoted by Diepenbrock p. 293 ss. Wackernagels Lesebuch i. Sp. 881 ss.): Now arise with me, I will lead thee to contemplation, and cause thee to cast a look at a parable. Behold! above the ninth heaven, which is far more than a hundred-thousand times larger than our whole globe, there is yet another heaven, which is called *cælum empyreum*, and has its name, not from its being a fiery substance, but from the intense shining brightness which it possesses by nature. It is immoveable and unchangeable, and is the glorious court where the heavenly hosts dwell, and where the evening star, and all the children of God, sing unceasing praise and adoration. There are the eternal thrones, surrounded by that incomprehensible light from which the evil spirits were cast out, and which are now occupied by the elect. Behold the wonderful city shining with pure gold, glittering with precious pearls, inlaid with precious jewels, transparent like a crystal, resplendent with red roses, white lilies, and all sorts of living flowers. Now cast thy own eyes upon the beautiful heavenly fields. Aye! behold the full delight of summer, the meadows of the bright May, the true valley of delight; behold happy moments spent in mutual love, harps, viols, singing, springing, dancing, and pleasures without end; behold the fulfilment of every desire, and love without sorrow, in everlasting security. And behold, round about thee, the innumerable multitude of the redeemed, drinking of the fountain of living water after their hearts' desire, and looking in the pure and clear mirror of the unveiled Deity, in which all things are made manifest to them. Proceed further, and behold the sweet queen of the heavenly country, whom thou lovest with such intensity, occupying her throne with dignity and joy, elevated above all the heavenly hosts, surrounded by rose-flowers and lilies of the valley. Behold her wonderful beauty imparting joy, and delight, and glory, to all the heavenly hosts, etc.....behold

the bright cherubim and their company receiving a bright emanation of the eternal, incomprehensible light, and the heavenly principalities and powers enjoying sweet repose in me, and I in them.....behold my elect disciples, and my very best friends, occupying the venerable thrones of judgment in great peace and honour; behold the martyrs shining in their robes red like roses, the confessors shining in their splendid beauty, the tender virgins shining in angelic purity, and all the heavenly host enjoying divine sweetness! Aye, what a company, and what a happy country." But Suso regards all this as a mere image. In his opinion, true happiness, "the essential recompense," as distinct from that which is "accidental," consists in union with God.— p. 296.: Essential reward consists in intuitive union of the soul with the pure Deity.

(7) *Elucidarium* c. 80. : *Ecce, sicut isti amici Dei decore maximo illustrantur, ita illi maximo horrore deturpantur. Sicut isti summa agilitate sunt alleviati, ita illi summa pigritia prægravati. Sicut isti præcipuo robore solidati, ita illi sunt præcipua invaletudine debilitati. Sicut isti augusta libertate potiuntur, ita illi anxia servitute deprimuntur. Sicut isti immensa voluptate deliciantur, ita illi immensa miseria amarificantur. Sicut isti egregia sanitate vigent, ita illi infinita infirmitate deficient. Sicut isti de beata immortalitate triumphantes lætantur, ita illi de dolenda sua diuturnitate lamentantur. Sicut isti politi sunt splendore sapientiæ ita illi obscurati sunt horrore insipientiæ. Si quid enim sciunt, ad augmentum doloris sciunt. Sicut istos dulcis amicitia copulat, ita illos amara inimicitia excruciat. Sicut isti concordem concordiam cum omni creatura habentes, ab omni creatura glorificantur, ita illi cum omni creatura discordiam habentes, ab omni creatura execrantur. Sicut isti summa potentia sublimantur, ita illi summa impotentia angustiantur.....Sicut isti ineffabili gaudio jubilantes, ita illi mœrore sine fine ejulantes, etc.* According to Thomas Aquinas Qu. 97. Art. 4. the utmost darkness reigns in hell, and only so much light is admitted as is sufficient to show that which is to torment souls. The fire is (according to Art. 5. and 6.) a real material fire, differing only in a few points (but not specifically) from terrestrial fire. It is under the surface of the earth, etc. A full description of the torments of hell is given by Dante.

(⁸) Thom. Aqu. Qu. 98. Art. 2 : Pœnitere de peccato, contingit dupliciter. Uno modo per se, alio modo per accidens. Per se quidem de peccato pœnitet, qui peccatum in quantum est peccatum, abominatur. Per accidens vero, qui illud odit, ratione alicujus adjuncti, utpote pœnæ vel alicujus hujusmodi. Mali igitur non pœnitebunt, per se loquendo, de peccatis, quia voluntas malitiæ peccati in eis remanet : pœnitebunt autem per accidens, in quantum affligentur de pœna, quam pro peccato sustinent. (He seems to speak of an attritio, sine contritione.)

(⁹) Loco citato, Art. 6 : Post diem judicii erit ultima consummatio bonorum et malorum, ita quod nihil erit addendum ulterius de bono, vel de malo. Comp. Peter Lombard Lib. iv. Dist. 50. A.

(¹⁰) Elucid. 80 : Odium enim Dei habent.....odium habent Angelorum.....odium habent omnium Sanctorum.....odium a novo cœlo et a nova terra et ab omni creatura habent. Comp. Thomas Aquinas l. c. Art. 4. : Tanta erit invidia in damnatis, quod etiam propinquorum gloriæ invidiebunt, cum ipsi sint in summa miseria.....Sed tamen minus invident propinquis, quam aliis, et major esset eorum pœna, si omnes propinqui damnarentur, et alii salvarentur, quam si aliqui de suis propinquis salvarentur. (He then quotes the example of Lazarus) —As regards the hatred which the damned feel towards God, comp. Art. 5. God as such cannot be hated, but ratione effectuum.

(¹¹) Lomb. Lib. iv. Dist. 50. G. Thom. Aqu. Qu. 94. Art. 2. 3. They witness the sufferings of the damned, without being seen by the latter. Peter Lombard l. c. Litt. E. Thom. Aqu. Qu. 98. Art. 9.

(¹²) De div. nat. v. 29. p. 265 : diversas suppliciorum formas non localiter in quadam parte, veluti toto hujus visibilis creaturæ et ut simpliciter dicam, neque intra diversitatem totius naturæ a Deo conditæ futuras esse credimus, et neque nunc esse, et nusquam et nunquam, sed in malarum voluntatum corruptarumque conscientiarum perversis motibus, tarda que pœnitentia et infructuosa, inque perversæ potestatis omnimoda subversione, sive humana sive angelica creatura. Comp. c. 36. p. 288. §. 37. p. 294. and some other passages. Frommüller (Tübinger Zeitschrift 1830. part 1. p. 84 ss.) *Guibert of Nogent* entertained similar views de pignoribus Sanctorum (in Opp. ed. d'Achery.

Par. 1651. fol.) Lib. iv. c. 14. p. 363. Münscher edit. by von Cölln p. 96. 98.

(¹³) The question has been started, what that is which produces the pain of burning in hell. Theologians generally say, it is self-will. But I say, in truth, it is *not having* which constitutes the burning of hell. Learn this from a parable. If you were to take a burning coal, and put it on my hand, and I were to assert that the coal is burning my hand, I should be wrong. But if I be asked what it is that burns me, I say, it is the not having, *i. e.*, the coal has something which my hand has not. You perceive then that it is the not having which burns me. But if my hand had all that which the coal has, it would possess the nature of fire. In that case you might take all the fire that burns, and put it on my hand, without tormenting me. In the same manner I say, if God, and those who stand before his face, enjoy that perfect happiness, which those who are separated from him possess not, it is the "*not having*" which torments the souls in hell more than self-will or fire. Predigt auf den ersten Sonntag nach Trinitatis, quoted by Schmidt (Studien und Kritiken 1839. p. 722.)

(¹⁴) Schmidt, however, thinks it probable (l. c.) that the assertion of the Bishop of Strasburg (quoted by Mosheim p. 257.), that the Beghards taught, *quod non est infernus, nec purgatorium* (§. 206. note 9.), was founded upon a mistake. They are further said to have maintained: *quod nullus damnabitur nec Judæus, nec Sarazenus, quia, mortuo corpore, spiritus redibit ad Dominum.*

§ 210.

ETERNITY OF THE PUNISHMENTS OF HELL. RESTI-
TUTION OF ALL THINGS.

John Scotus Erigena, proceeding from the universality of redemption, ventured to intimate the notion of Origen, concerning the retribution of all things, with-

out denying the eternity of the punishments of hell.⁽¹⁾ This idea met with approbation among the mystical sects.⁽²⁾ The Catholic Church, however, simply retained the doctrine of the eternity of the punishments of hell,⁽³⁾ as the concise Superscription to Dante's description of hell shows.⁽⁴⁾ The excited imagination of the orthodox mystics led them to dwell with painful elaboration upon this everlasting duration of the torments of hell.⁽⁵⁾

(1) Erigena maintained the eternity of the punishments of hell as much as Augustine, de div. nat. v. 31. p. 270. Nevertheless he said, p. 72. : Aliud est omnem malitiam generaliter in omni humana natura penitus aboleri, aliud phantasias ejus, malitiæ dico, in propria conscientia eorum quos in hac vita vitiaverat semper servari, eoque modo semper puniri. Comp. v. 26. p. 255. 56. v. 27. p. 260 : Divina siquidem bonitas consumet malitiam, æterna vita absorbet mortem, beatitudo miseriam.....nisi forte adhuc ambigis, dominum Jesum humanæ naturæ acceptorem et salvatorem non totam ipsam, sed quantulamcunque partem ejus accepisse et salvasse. Frommüller l. c. p. 86, 87.

(2) Comp. §. 209. note 14. and §. 202.

(3) Thomas Aquinas Qu. 99.

(4) Canto iii. v. 9. : "*Cease from hope all ye who enter.*"

(5) Suso (Büchlein von der Weisheit cap. xi. von immerwährendem Weh der Hölle, quoted by Diepenbrock p. 289. 90. by Wackernagel, Sp. 879.) expressed himself as follows :—Alas ! misery and pain, they must last for ever. O ! eternity, what art thou ? O ! end without end ! O ! death which is above every death, to die every hour, and yet not to be able ever to die ! O ! father and mother, and all whom we love ! May God be merciful unto you for evermore ; for we shall see you no more to love you ; we must be separated for ever ! O ! separation, everlasting separation, how painful art thou ! O, the wringing of hands ! O, sobbing, sighing, and weeping, unceasing howling and lamenting, and yet never to be pardoned !.....Give us a millstone, say the damned, as large as the whole earth, and so wide in circumference as to touch the sky all around, and let a little bird come

once in a hundred thousand years, and pick off a small particle of the stone, not larger than the tenth part of a grain of millet, and after another hundred thousand years let him come again, so that in ten hundred thousand years he would pick off as much as a grain of millet, we wretched sinners would desire nothing but that thus the stone might have an end, and thus our pains also ; yet even that cannot be !

FOURTH PERIOD.

FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE ABOLITION OF
THE FORMULA CONSENSUS IN REFORMED
SWITZERLAND, AND THE RISE OF THE WOL-
FIAN PHILOSOPHY IN GERMANY, FROM THE
YEAR 1517 TO 1720.

THE AGE OF POLEMICO-ECCLESIASTICAL
SYMBOLIK.

A GENERAL HISTORY OF DOCTRINES DURING
THE FOURTH PERIOD.

§ 211.

INTRODUCTION.

As regards the sources, and the works on the history of the Reformation, compare *Hase*, Kirchengeschichte p. 349-50. [ed. 5th.], and *Gieseler*, Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte iii. 1. p. 1 ss.

The Reformation of the sixteenth century was neither a mere scientific reform of doctrine nor a revolution which affected only the external relations of life (church-polity and form of worship), without touching

doctrinal questions. It was rather *a comprehensive reformation of the Church on the basis of the newly awakened evangelical faith, as it manifested itself in its practico-moral aspects.* As primitive Christianity did not present a perfectly systematic theology to its adherents, so those who restored pure, Scriptural religion, did not think of establishing a complete system of doctrines. The heart, and the actions of the heart, preceded, science followed in slow progression. Thus it happened, that the publication of the 95 theses (A.D. 1517. Oct. 31st.), in which Luther opposed Tetzels on moral grounds, and the zeal which Zuinglius displayed about the same time, in combating the prevailing abuses of the Church, and the errors of his age, became the signal for further contests. When the attack made upon the sale of indulgences had shaken scholasticism to its very foundations, the opposition to all that was unscriptural in the constitution of the Church, as well as in its doctrines, soon spread further, though its success was not everywhere the same.

“ Questions concerning principles were, on the whole, not in accordance with the mind of that age.” Baumgarten Crusius, *Compendium der Dogmengeschichte* i. p. 326.

§ 212.

THE PRINCIPLES OF PROTESTANTISM.

Göbel, M., die religiöse Eigenthümlichkeit der lutherischen und der reformirten Kirche. Bonn 1837.

From the commencement two principles manifested themselves, which determined the course taken by the reformers, the one a *material*, the other a *formal* principle. The former was contained in the Pauline doc-

trine of justification by faith, the latter manifested itself in the constant appeal to the Sacred Scriptures as the only decisive authority in questions concerning faith. It may be said (though it be true only to a certain extent) that the German reformers adopted rather the material principle, while those of Switzerland (first Zuinglius, and afterwards Calvin) gave preference to the formal.

§ 213.

RELATION OF THE HISTORY OF DOCTRINES OF THE PRESENT PERIOD TO THAT OF FORMER PERIODS (SYMBOLIK.)

Compare Vol. i. § 4.

The important events which happened during the present age, such as the division of the Catholic Church into its two great sections, viz. the *Protestants* and the *Roman Catholics*, the separation between the Lutherans and the *Calvinists* (the Reformed Church), which took place at an early period, and the schism still existing between the Roman Catholic and the Greek orthodox churches, render it necessary to adopt another method in the treatment of the history of doctrines. We shall have to consider the dogmatic developement of each of these great sections of the Church separately, as well as the relation in which they stand to each other. Nor must we pass over those religious parties which made their appearance in the commotion of those times, and, so far from joining any of the larger bodies, set themselves in opposition to each of them, and were looked upon as heretical.

I. THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

§ 214.

LUTHER AND MELANCTHON.

Pfizer, G., *Leben Luthers*. Stuttg. 1836. (together with the other biographical works, both ancient and modern, which are mentioned by Hase, Gieseler, and others.) * *Galle*, F., *Versuch einer Charakteristik Melancthons als Theologen, und einer Entwicklung seines Lehrbegriffs*. Halle 1840. [*J. H. Merle d'Aubigne*, *Histoire de la Réformation du 16. siècle*. Paris 1835 ss. 3 voll. Edinb. 1846. vol. 4th. especially Vol. i. and ii.—*Audin*, *Histoire de la vie de Luther*. Paris 1839. 41. 2 vol. *Michelet*, *Histoire de la vie de Luther* Par. 1845.]

It may be said, on the one hand, that *Dr Martin Luther* became emphatically *the* reformer of the German Church, and thus the reformer of a great part of the universal church, by his eminent personal character and heroic career,⁽¹⁾ by the publication of his theses,⁽²⁾ by sermons and expositions of Scripture,⁽³⁾ by disputations and bold controversial writings,⁽⁴⁾ by numerous letters and circular epistles, by advice and warning;⁽⁵⁾ by intercourse with persons of all classes of society, by pointed maxims and hymns,⁽⁶⁾ but especially by his translation of the Sacred Scriptures into the German language.⁽⁷⁾ On the other hand, it was the work of the calmer and more learned *M. Philip Melancthon* to lead the powerful torrent of the newly awakened life of faith into its scientifically circumscribed channel. In addition to many other valuable theological works, he composed the first compendium of the doctrines of the Protestant Church (*loci communes sive theologici*), which formed the basis of other treatises.⁽⁸⁾

(1) He was born at Eisleben A. D. 1483. Nov. 10th.—In the year 1507 he enters the monastery of the Augustinian monks at Erfurt, removes in the following year to Wittenberg, where he teaches first philosophy, and afterwards theology, makes a journey to Rome 1510, and takes his degree of doctor of theology 1512.—Publication of the theses 1517. Oct. 31st.—Luther is summoned before the Pope—has an interview with Cajetan in Augsburg 1518. Oct.—Interview with Miltitz—Controversy with Eck, Wimpina, and others.—Dispute of Leipsic 1519. June.—Excommunication of Luther 1520.—He burns the bull and the papal decrees 1520. Dec.—Diet of Worms under the Emperor Charles V.—Luther's defence on that occasion (1521. April).—He is outlawed, and constrained to take up his abode in the Wartburg (from May 1521 to March 1522.)—He leaves his place of concealment to oppose the prophets of Zwickau.—Further spread of the Reformation in Germany, commencing at Wittenberg.—The war of the peasantry, controversy concerning the sacraments, Luther's marriage (1524–1525.)—Visitation of the churches 1527.—Diet of Augsburg 1530.—Luther's residence in Coburg—A period of manifold sufferings and vexations.—His death 1546. Febr. 18th.—*Complete editions of his works are*: that of Wittenberg, twelve volumes in German (1539–59), and seven volumes in Latin (1545–58); that of Jena, eight volumes in German (1555–58), and four in Latin (1556–58), in addition to which two supplementary volumes were published by Aurifaber. Eisleben 1564. 65.; that of Altenburg, in ten volumes in German (1661–64); that of Leipsic, in twenty-two volumes (1729–40); and lastly, that of Halle, edited by *Walch*, in twenty-four volumes (1740–50.) See Gieseler iii. 1. p. 3. and *Rotermund*, H. V., Verzeichniss der verschiedenen Ausgaben der sämmtlichen Schriften Luthers. Bremen 1813. 8.—Luther did not compose a system of doctrinal theology, but others compiled it from his writings. This was done *e. g.* by *Heinrich Majus*, Professor in Giessen, who wrote: *Lutheri Theologia pura et sincera, ex viri divini scriptis universis, maxime tamen latinis per omnes fidei articulos digesta et concinnata.* Francof. ad. M. 1709. (with a supplement.) Similar works were composed by *Timoth. Kirchner*, *Andr. Musculus*, *Theodos. Fabricius*, *Michael Neander* (*Theologia Megalandri Lutheri.* Eisl. 1587. 12.), *Elias*

Veiel. see Semler, *Einleitung zu Baumgarten's Glaubenslehre* ii. p. 146. *Heinrich*, *Geschichte der Lehrart* etc. p. 248.

(²) They are given in *Löscher's Reformatiionsacten* i. p. 438 ss. and *Herm. von der Hardt*, *Historia Reformat.* litt. P. iv. p. 16. Compare also *Gieseler* l. c. p. 24. where the most important theses may be found.

(³) For an account of the different collections of sermons, homilies, etc. (Kirchen- und Hauspostill, etc.) see *Lentz*, *Geschichte der christlichen Homiletik* ii. p. 22. 23.—His exegetical works (e. g. his commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, 1535. 38.) are of use in the history of doctrines.

(⁴) The several controversial writings which he composed in opposition both to the advocates of the old system, and to the real or supposed corrupters of the new doctrines, as well as the reports of public disputations, will be specified in their proper place in the special history of doctrines.

(⁵) *Briefe, Sendschreiben und Bedenken*, edited by de Wette. five volumes, Berlin, 1825–28.

(⁶) *Gebauer*, *Luther als Kirchenliederdichter*. Leipzig 1828. The latest edition appeared under the care of Winterfeld 1840. Luther's maxims are for the most part collected in the "Tischreden" (i. e. table-talk), published by Aurifaber, but they require revision.

(⁷) The translation of the Bible was commenced during his residence in the Wartburg, and that of the New Testament was completed 1522. The first German translation of the whole Bible was published by Hans Lufft in Wittenberg A. D. 1534. (compare the editions of 1541. 45.) Further particulars will be found in *Panzer*, G. W., *Entwurf einer vollständ. Geschichte der Bibelübersetzung Dr M. Luthers*. Nürnberg. 1783. 8. and the other works on this subject written by *Marheinecke*, *Weidemann*, *Lücke*, *Schott*, *Grotefend*, and *Mann* (Stuttgart 1835.) Compare *Gieseler* l. c. p. 109. 110.

(⁸) His original name was *Schwarzerd*; he was born at Bretten in the Palatinate 1497. Febr. 16th; and delivered lectures in the university of Wittenberg. He was surnamed Præceptor Germaniæ. His lectures on Paul's Epistle to the Roman's gave rise to his celebrated work: *Loci communes rerum theologicarum seu hypotyposes theologicæ*. 1521 in 4°. in the same year it was

also published in 8°, and passed through upwards of a hundred editions, more than sixty of which appeared during his lifetime. The *Loci* were several times improved, and from the year 1550 published under the title: *Loci præcipui theologici*. Comp. *Herm.* v. d. *Hardt*, hist. reform. litter. P. iv. p. 30 ss. The latest edition appeared under the care of * *Augusti*, Lips. 1821. Luther (*de servo arbitrio*) called the work in question: *invictum libellum, non solum immortalitate, sed canone etiam ecclesiastico dignum*. Compare the passage quoted from his "Tischreden" by *Galle* p. 20. and *Strobel*, *Litterargeschichte von Phil. Melancthon's Loci theologici*. Altdorf und Nürnberg 1776. 8. Concerning other doctrinal and polemical writings of Melancthon, see *Heinrich* l. c. p. 268 ss. *Galle* l. c. *Bretschneider*, *Corpus Reformatorum* T. i.-iii.

§ 215.

THE SYMBOLICAL BOOKS OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

On the literature compare vol. i. § 13. p. 18. and § 16. p. 29. 30.

It was *Melancthon* who was appointed by the newly formed Protestant community to draw up a confession of faith in a concise, clear, and pacific form, on the basis of those doctrines which he, together with Luther and other divines, had determined. From its solemn presentation at the diet of Augsburg (A. D. 1530), it has received the name of *Confession of Augsburg* (*Confessio Augustana*).⁽¹⁾ The "Confutatio" published by the Roman Catholics, in opposition to the Confession of Augsburg,⁽²⁾ gave rise, soon after, to a new symbolical book of the Lutheran Church, the *Apolo- gogy of the Confession*, of which Melancthon was the sole author.⁽³⁾ The *Articles of Schmalkald* (A. D. 1536-37.), composed by Luther, in much bolder terms, followed somewhat later.⁽⁴⁾ They completed the series of official

documents and apologies which bore upon the external relations of the new church.⁽⁵⁾ But in order to establish the internal relations of the Protestant Church on a firm doctrinal basis, both the *Catechisms of Luther* were added to the collection of symbolical books as normal compendiums.⁽⁶⁾ And lastly, in consequence of many and violent controversies respecting the fundamental principles of Protestantism, which arose within the Lutheran Church itself,⁽⁷⁾ it was found necessary, after various but unsuccessful attempts to restore peace, to draw up the *Formula Concordiæ* (Germ. Concor- dienformel A. D. 1577), in which the disputed points were considered, and, as far as possible, determined.⁽⁸⁾ All these books were now collected into a symbolical canon (A. D. 1580.) the *Liber Concordiæ* (Germ. Concor- dienbuch.) In the course of time this canon acquired so great an authority, that the clergy had to subscribe it as solemnly as Scripture itself.⁽⁹⁾

⁽¹⁾ *Confessio Augustana*, on the basis of the seventeen articles of Torgau (Schwabach), composed by order of the Prince Elector of Saxony by Luther, Jonas, Bugenhagen, and Melancthon. The original edition was published in German and Latin A. D. 1530 by G. Rhaw (in modern times it was edited by Winer 1825. Tittman 1830. Twisten 1840.) It consists of twenty-eight articles; in the first twenty-one the principal doctrines (*Articuli fidei præcipui*) are discussed with reference to the Roman Catholic Church, but in moderate terms; the last seven treat of the *abusos mutatos*. Further particulars (of a literary kind) are given by Winer, comparative *Darstellung* p. 13. Gieseler l. c. p. 243 ss. Many details respecting the origin of the articles, and the elevation of mind experienced by their authors, will be found in the work of *Rotermund*, *Geschichte des Reichstages in Augsburg*. Hanover 1829. Concerning the critical part see *Weber*, *Geschichte der Augsburger Confession*. Francf. 1783. 84. ii. *Förstemann*, *Urkundenbuch*, Halle 1833. 35. *Rudelbach*, A. G., *historisch-kritische Einleitung in die Augsburger Confession*. Dresden 1841.

(²) It was composed by a number of Roman Catholic theologians (among whom were *Eck* and *Faber*), and read aloud (in German) in the diet 1530. Aug. 3rd., but no copy of it was communicated to the Protestant estates. It was only afterwards that Melancthon obtained a copy. It is reprinted in Hase, *Libri Symbolici* p. 55 ss. (ed. 5th.)

(³) The first sketch was composed from memory, as the author possessed no copy of the writing of his opponents, and presented to the Emperor Charles V., A. D. 1530, Sept. 22d. It was afterwards revised, and published 1531, both in Latin and German, together with the confession of Augsburg. The same arrangement is adopted in the apology as in the confession, but the number of articles is reduced to 16. “*With regard to its intrinsic worth, this work, no doubt, occupies the first place among the symbols of the Lutheran Church.*” Winer, p. 16. As early as the times of *Ernesti*, it was called “*a masterpiece in the argument ex dictis Scripturæ ex natura rerum, and consensu patrum,*” etc. See *Ernesti, neue theologische Bibliothek* vol. ii. p. 413. It was edited by Lücke in Latin and German, Berl. 1818.

(⁴) They were drawn up in German, in order to be presented at the council summoned by Pope Paul III. (A. D. 1536.), and signed by the assembly of Schmalkald (1537. Feb.) The first German edition appeared at Wittenberg 1538. They were republished from a MSS. in the Library of Hiedelberg by Dr *Phil. Marheinecke*, Berl. 1817. 4.—The work consists of three parts: 1. de summis articulis divinæ majestatis; 2. de summis articulis, qui officium et opus Jesu Christi s. redemptionem nostram concernunt; 3. articuli de quibus agere potuerimus cum doctis et prudentibus viris vel etiam inter nos ipsos (Melancthon afterwards added an appendix de potestate et primatu Papae.)

(⁵) On the distinction between those symbolical writings which have regard to *external* relations, and those which refer to *internal* relations, see *Schleiermacher*, über den eigenthümlichen Werth und das Ansehen symbolischer Bücher, in the *Reformatischer Almanach*. Vol. ii. 1819. p. 235 ss.

(⁶) In the year 1529, Luther wrote both the Catechismus major (for the use of the clergy and schoolmasters), and the Catechismus minor (for the use of the people and children), not in order to force a system of doctrines upon the Church, but to supply a prac-

tical deficiency. Both were divided into five leading parts. On the different editions, appendices, etc., see Winer l. c. p. 16. **Augusti*, Einleitung in die beiden Hauptkatechismen der evangelischen Kirche. Elberfeld 1824. *Illgen, C. F.*, Memoria utriusque Catech. Lutheri. Lips. 1828-30. 4 programmes 4.

(7) The most important of these controversies are the following :—

- a. The *Antinomian Controversy*; it originated with *John Agricola* of Eisleben (from the year 1536 he was professor in the university of Wittenberg), during Luther's lifetime. Comp. *Elwert*, de Antinomia J. Agricolæ Islebii. Tur. 1836.
- b. The *Adiaphoristic Controversy*, which had its origin in the Interim of Leipsic (from the year 1548), and gave rise to a lasting difference between the more moderate view of Philip Melancthon, and the more rigid doctrines of the orthodox Lutherans. The former view was represented by the university of Wittenberg, the latter by that of Jena. This difference manifested itself especially in
- c. The *Controversy* between *George Major* and *Nicholas Amsdorf*, concerning the question, whether good works are necessary to salvation, or whether they possess rather a dangerous tendency (about the year 1559 ss.) This controversy was connected with the two following, viz.,
- d. The *Synergistic Controversy* respecting the relation in which human liberty stands to Divine grace; it was called forth (A. D. 1555) by the treatise of John Pfeffinger: de libero arbitrio, which was combated by *Amsdorf*.
- e. The *Controversy* respecting the nature of original sin between *Victorin Strigel* (in Jena), and *Matthias Flacius*. It commenced A. D. 1560, and led to the disputation of Weimar A. D. 1561. About the same time a controversy was carried on in Prussia, viz.,
- f. The *Controversy* between *Andrew Osiander* (in Königsberg) and *Joachim Mörlin*, *Francis Stancarus*, etc.; it bore upon the relation in which justification stands to sanctification, and to the main point in the work of redemption. Comp. Tholuck, literarischer Anzeiger 1833. No. 54 ss.

g. The (cryptocalvinistic) *controversy* concerning the Lord's Supper: *First*, In the Palatinate between *W. Klebitz* and *Tileman Hesshus* (A. D. 1559.) In consequence of it, not only both these pastors were dismissed, but Frederic III., Prince Elector of the Palatinate, also went over to the Reformed Church. *Secondly*, The controversy which took place in Bremen between *Albrecht Hardenberg* and the said Hesshus (A. D. 1561.), together with its consequences. *Thirdly*, The controversy carried on in Saxony itself. There *Caspar Peucer*, the son-in-law of Melancthon, succeeded in gaining over the Prince Elector Augustus, as well as Crell and others, to the Calvinistic doctrine (*Consensus Dresdensis*), until the former, having obtained a better knowledge of the real state of things by the *Exegesis perspicua controversiæ de cœna Domini*, in which the views of Peucer's party were more distinctly set forth, commenced a bloody persecution against the Cryptocalvinists, and adopted measures for the restoration of Lutheran orthodoxy.

(On all these controversies compare the works on ecclesiastical history, and the history of the Reformation, as well as the well-known works of *Walch*, *Planck*, etc. They will be considered in the special history of doctrines.)

(⁸) The Formula Concordia was based upon the articles drawn up in Torgau (1576.—Torgauisches Buch), and composed in the monastery Bergen near Magdeburg (1577), by *Jacob Andreï* (Schmidlin), chancellor of Wirtemberg, on the one hand, and the Saxonian theologians, *Martin Chemnitz*, *Nicholas Selnecker*, *David Chytraeus*, *Andrew Musculus*, and *Christopher Körner*, on the other. It was called the "Bergische Buch," and acquired symbolical authority, not only in Saxony, but also in other towns and countries, while it met with opposition in Hesse, Anhalt, Pomerania, and several of the free cities. In Brandenburg and Upper Palatinate it was at first adopted, but afterwards lost its reputation. The formula consists of two parts: 1. The shorter one, *Epitome*; 2. The longer one, *Solida declaratio*. It was originally published in German, and translated into Latin by *L. Osiander*. Comp. *Nicholas Anton*, *Geschichte der Concordienformel*. Leipzig 1779. ii. 8. Planck vi.

(9) The German title of it is: "Concordia, christliche, wiederholte, einmüthige Bekenntniss nachgenannter Churfürsten, Fürsten und Stände Augsburgischer Confession und derselben zu Ende des Buchs unterschriebnen Theologen Lehre und Glaubens, mit angehefter, in Gottes Wort, als der einigen Richtschnur wohlgegründeter Erklärung etlicher Artikel, bei welchen nach Dr Martin Luthers seligen Absterben Disputation und Streit vorgefallen. Aus einhelliger Vergleichung und Befehl obgedachter Churfürsten, Fürsten und Stände derselben Landen, Kirchen, Schulen und Nachkommen zum Unterricht und Warnung in Druck verfertigt. Dresden 1580. fol."

§ 216.

THE SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

Buddei, Isagoge (Lips. 1727.) i. p. 387 ss. *Walchii* Bibliotheca theologica selecta, i. p. 33 ss. *Semler*, Einleitung in die dogmatische Gottesgelehrsamkeit (the introduction to Baumgarten's Glaubenslehre vol. ii. iii.) *Heinrich*, Geschichte der Lehrarten der protestantischen Kirche p. 271 ss. *De Wette*, Dogmatik der protestantischen Kirche, p. 271 ss. *De Wette* Dogmatik der protestantischen Kirche edit. 3d. p. 17 ss.

A number of works on systematic theology were published by different writers, some of whom, such as *Martin Chemnitz*,⁽¹⁾ *Victorin Strigel*,⁽²⁾ and *Nicholas Selnecker*,⁽³⁾ followed Melancthon, while others, e. g., *Leonhard Hutter*,⁽⁴⁾ *John Gerhard*,⁽⁵⁾ and others,⁽⁶⁾ adopted the strict Lutheran view, and closely adhered to the Formula Concordiæ. These works were, for the most part, called *loci theologici*, and arranged after the synthetic method. But after *George Calixt*⁽⁷⁾ had separated ethics from systematic theology, and applied the analytic method of investigation to the latter, *John Hülsemann*,⁽⁸⁾ *John Conrad Dannhauer*,⁽⁹⁾ *Abraham Calov*,⁽¹⁰⁾ *John Fr. König*,⁽¹¹⁾ *John Andrew Quenstädt*,⁽¹²⁾ *John William Baden*,⁽¹³⁾ and others, followed more or less

the course which he had adopted. These theologians may, in many respects, be compared to the scholastics of the preceding period; in either case we may show a variety of modifications and transitions.⁽¹⁾

(1) He was born at Treuenbriezen A. D. 1522. Nov. 9th., and the most learned of the disciples of Melanchthon, on whose loci he delivered lectures in the University of Wittenberg. He took part in the composition of the Formula Concordiæ (comp. §. 213.), as well as in the reformation of Brunswick. He died 1586.—He wrote: *Loci theologici edit. op. et stud. Polycarp. Lyseri (Leyser). Francof. 1591. 4. ibid. 1599. 1604. iii. 8. Viteb. 1615. 23. 90. fol.*—“*These commentaries are written with a great amount of learning.....Accuracy and clearness in the definition of doctrines, mature judgment, prudent choice of matter and proofs, and order in the arrangement, manifest themselves everywhere.*” Heinrich p. 274. *Examen Concilii Tridentini. Francof. 1615. 1707.* Concerning the other dogmatic works of Chemnitz see Heinrich p. 276.

(2) He was born at Kaufbeuren, A. D. 1524, and obtained a professorship of divinity in the University of Jena, A. D. 1548. On the controversy between him and Flacius see the preceding §. He died A. D. 1569. as an exile at Heidelberg. His *Loci theologici* were edited *lab. et studio Christ. Pezelii Neap. Nemet. 1582–85. ii. 4.* “*In many points he is so profound and edifying, that I am not sure whether any other theologian of that period has surpassed him.*” Semler, in his edition of Baumgarten’s *Glaubenslehre* ii. p. 158.—The work itself is scarce.

(3) He was born A. D. 1530. at Hersbruck in Franconia, studied theology in the University of Wittenberg, was chaplain to the Prince Elector of Saxony, Professor of Divinity in the Universities of Jena and Leipsic, superintendent at Wolfenbüttel, etc., and died A. D. 1592. He also took part in the composition of the Formula Concordiæ. He wrote: *Institutiones Christianæ religionis. Partes iii. Francof. 1573. 79. 8.* This work was the first system of dogmatic theology in the Lutheran Church, which contained the so-called Prolegomena (on the Scriptures, revelation, etc.)

(4) He was born A. D. 1563. at Nellingen in the district of

Ulm. He was surnamed *Lutherus redivivus*, and defended the *Formula Concordiæ* (*concordia concors*. Witeb. 1614. fol.) in opposition to *Hospinian* (*concordia discors*. Tig. 1607. fol.) By order of Christian II. Prince Elector of Saxony, he wrote : *Compendium locorum theol. ex Sacra Script. et libro concord. collat. Vit.* 1610.—*Loci communes theol. ex sacris litteris diligenter eruti, veterum patrum testimoniis passim roborati et conformati. ad meth. locc. Mel. Viteb.* 1619. 53. 61. ss.

(⁵) He was born A. D. 1582. at Quedlinburg, occupied a chair of divinity in the University of Jena, and died 1637. Aug. 17th. He wrote : *Loci Theol. cum pro adstruenda veritate, tum pro destruenda quorumvis contradicentium falsitate, per theses nervose, solide et copiose explicati.* Jenæ 1610–25. ix. Voll. 4. *Denuo edid. variique gen. obss. adjec. J. Fr. Cotta.* T. i.–xx. Tub. 1762–89. 4.—*Exegesis s. uberius explicatio articulorum de Scriptura S. de Deo et de persona Christi in Tomo I. Locorum* (Cotta T. ii. iii.)—*J. E. Gerhard, Isagoge loc. theol. in qua ea, quæ in IX. Tomis uberius sunt exposita, in compendium redacta.* Jen. 1658.—See Heinrich p. 314 ss. Semler p. 72 ss.

(⁶) Among the divines of the Lutheran Church, both *prior* and *anterior* to Hutter, we may further mention : *Jacob Heerbrandt*, the author of a *Compend. theolog.* Tub. 1573. *Matthias Hafffenreffer*, who wrote : *Loci theolog.* Tub. 1691. *Erasmus Brochman*, the author of a *Systema Universæ Theologiæ*, etc. Hafn. 1633. ii. Tom. 4. *Bircherod, Friedlieb*, and others ; see Semler p. 71. 80. Heinrich p. 283. 328.—On the re-introduction of scholastic philosophy, and especially of Formalism, into the doctrinal theology of the present age, see Heinrich p. 310 ss.

(⁷) Of his writings the following are of a doctrinal tendency : *Apparatus in theol. stud.* ed. F. U. Calixt. Helmst. 1656. 1661. *Epitome theol.* Gosl. 1619. ed. Gerh. Titius 66. *Epit. theol. mor.* Helmst. 1634. For further particulars see below, §. 218. On his analytic method compare Heinrich p. 330. 31.

(⁸) He was born A. D. 1602 at Esens in Friesland, held several situations in Saxony, was superintendent at Meissen, and died A. D. 1661.—He wrote : *Breviarium theologicum.* Viteb. 1640. 8. *Extensio breviarii theol.* Lips. 1648. 55.—*Valent. Alberti, Brev. theol.* Hülsemann. enucl. et auct. Lips. 1687. 4. His opponents called his style : *stilum barbarum, scholasticum, holcoticum, scoti-*

cum ac tenebrosum. See Scherzeri Prolegomena quoted by Heinrich p. 333.

⁽⁹⁾ He was born A. D. 1603 at Köndringen, in the county of Baden-Hochberg, professor of theology in the University of Strassburg, instructed Spener, and died A. D. 1666. “*He excited considerable interest chiefly by his profound exegetical lectures delivered in a popular style.*” Hossbach (Spener i. p. 17.) He wrote: *Hodosophia christiana s. theol. posit. in methodum reducta.* Argent 1649. 66. 8. Lips. 1713. 4. Spener arranged this work in the form of tables, Franc. 1690. 4. On the so-called method of phenomenon which Dannhauer adopted (*i. e.*, the symbolico-allegorical representation of man under the figure of a traveller, etc.) See Hossbach l. c. p. 23. Semler p. 85. Heinrich p. 331. In addition to the above work he composed: *Christosophia* 1638. *Mysteriosophia* 1646.

⁽¹⁰⁾ He was born A. D. 1612 at Morungen, filled the office of superintendent at Wittenberg, and died A. D. 1686. He used daily to offer this prayer: *Imple me, Deus, odio hæreticorum!* He wrote: *Systema locorum theol. e sacra potiss.—Script et antiquitate; nec non adversariorum confessione doctrinam, praxin et controversiarum fidei cum veterum tum imprimis recentiorum pertractationem luculentam exhibens.* Vit. 1655–77. 12 Voll. 4. *Theol. positiva per definitiones, causas adfectiones et distinctiones locos theol. universos.....proponens, ceu compendium system. theol.* Viteb. 1682. 8.

⁽¹¹⁾ He was born A. D. 1619 at Dresden, and died A. D. 1664 at Rostock, where he was professor of theology. He wrote: *Theologia positiva acroamatica synoptice tractata.* Rost. 1664. An improved edition of it appeared in *J. Casp. Haferungi Colleg. thet.* Viteb. 1737. 8. According to Buddeus (*Isagoge* p. 399.), it is a mere skeleton of a system of doctrinal theology.

⁽¹²⁾ He was born at Quedlinburg A. D. 1617., professor of theology in the University of Wittenberg, and died A. D. 1688. He wrote: *Theologia didactico polemica s. systema theol. in duas sectiones.....divisum.* Viteb. 1685. and 96. Lips. 1702. 15. fol. *Comp.* Semler p. 103 ss.

⁽¹³⁾ He was born A. D. 1647 at Nürnberg, and died A. D. 1695 at Weimar, where he was superintendent. He composed a *Compendium theol. positivæ.* Jen. 1686. 8. An improved edition of

it was edited by *Reusch* 1757. It was founded upon the "Einleitung in die Glaubenslehre," and some shorter doctrinal treatises composed by *John Musæus* (who died 1681 at Jena.) Concerning the analytic method adopted by its author see *Heinrich* p. 348 ss.

⁽¹⁴⁾ As, e. g., the theologians of the school of St Victor manifested a leaning towards mysticism, so *John Gerhard*, *Dannhauer*, and others, endeavoured to combine strict science with practical piety.

§ 217.

LUTHERAN MYSTICISM, THEOSOPHY, AND ASCETICISM.

As the scholasticism of the middle ages had been counterbalanced by mysticism, so the new scholastic tendency of the Lutheran Church, during the present period, was accompanied by a mystical tendency, representing the deeper interests of practical religion. And further, as we had there to distinguish between the mysticism of the sects, and orthodox mysticism (though its advocates spiritualized, and sometimes idealized, the doctrines of the Church, by internal interpretation), so here again we must distinctly separate these two tendencies from each other. As early as the lifetime of Luther, *John Casper Schwenkfeld*⁽¹⁾ endeavoured (in a manner similar to that adopted by the prophets of Zwickau, and the Anabaptists)⁽²⁾ to oppose rigid adherence to the letter of Scripture, by a fantastic, spiritual theology. In later times, the mystico-theosophic writings of *Theophrastus Paracelsus*,⁽³⁾ *Valentin Weigel*,⁽⁴⁾ and *Jacob Böhm*,⁽⁵⁾ exerted a beneficial influence on the one hand, while, on the other, they perplexed the minds of the people, and threatened to destroy the unity of the Church. On the contrary, a more considerate writer, *John Arnd*,⁽⁶⁾ and his follow-

ers,⁽⁷⁾ sought to reintroduce “*true Christianity*” into all the relations of life, and to revive, by means of a godly disposition and pious conversation, the spirit of true religion, which had been buried under a heap of scholastic definitions. *J. G. Arnold* was induced, by his preference for mysticism, to undertake the defence of the heretical sects against the sentence which the orthodox passed upon them.⁽⁸⁾

(1) He was born A. D. 1490 at Ossik in Silesia, and died 1561. (Luther called him Stenckfeld.) Concerning Schwenckfeld and his friend Valentin Krautwald see Planck v. 1. p. 89 ss. and compare the special history of doctrines.

(2) See below § 231.

(3) His proper name was : *Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Bombastus Paracelsus ab Hohenheim* ; he was a native of Switzerland, and died A. D. 1541. His works were published at Basle 1589 ss. xi. 4. Compare : *Preu*, Dr H. A., die Theologie des Theophrast. Paracelsus. Berlin 1839. 8.

(4) He was born A. D. 1533 at Hayn, in the county of Meissen, and died 1588 at Tschoppau, where he was a pastor. His writings were not published till after his death, viz. : *guldener Griff*, d. i. alle Dinge ohne Irrthum zu erkennen, 1616. *Erkenne dich selbst*, 1618. *Kirchen-und Hauspostill*, 1618.—Comp. Arnolds *Kirchenund Ketzehist.* ii. vol. xvii. c. 17. Walch, *Einleitung in die Religions Streitigkeiten* iv. p. 1024-1065. Planck, *Geschichte der protestantischen Theologie* p. 72 ss. Hagenbach, *Vorlesungen über die Reformation* iii. p. 337 ss.

(5) He was born A. D. 1575 at Altseidenburg, in Upper-Lausatia, and lived in Görlitz, where he was a shoemaker. His writings were edited by *Albert von Franckenberg*. Amstel. 1730. 6 voll. 8. with an account of his life. Comp. *Wullen*. *J. Böhmes Leben und Lehre*. Stuttgart 1836. 8. By the same : *Blüthen aus J. Böhmes Mystik*. Stuttg. 1838. *Umbreit*, A. E., *Jacob Böhme*. Heidelberg 1835. *Baur*, *Gnosis* p. 558 ss. Hagenbach, *Vorlesung. über die Reform.* l. c. p. 345 ss.

(6) He was born A. D. 1555 at Ballenstädt, in the duchy of Anhalt, suffered much from persecution, filled the office of super-

intendent in Celle, and died 1621. He wrote: 4 Bücher vom wahren Christenthum, 1605. (which were combated by Luc. Osiander.) Paradiesgärtlein voll. christlicher Tugenden, Evangelienpostille, and other works. Comp. Freheri Theatr. viror. eruditione claror. p. 409. Tzschirners Memorabilien iii. 1. Lpzg. 1812. Hagenbach, Vorlesunger, etc. l. c. p. 371 ss.

(7) *Joach. Lütke*mann, *Heinr. Müller*, *Christian Scriber*, and others. The better class of preachers, and especially the authors of spiritual songs, exerted also a beneficial influence upon the religious belief of the people. Comp. Hagenbach, Vorlesungen p. 163 ss.

(8) He was born A. D. 1665 at Annaberg, and died 1714 at Perleburg, where he was a pastor. He wrote: Unparteiische Kirchen. und Ketzerhistorie. Frankf. 1699. fol. Schafh. 1740. ss. 3 voll. fol. Wahre Ausbildung des inwendigen Christenthums—erste Liebe—geistliche Erfahrungslehre, and several other treatises.

Lutheran mysticism degenerated especially in the case of *Quirinus Kuhlmann* (1651–89), *John George Gichtel* (1638–1710), and his colleagues *Breckling*, *Ueberfeldt*, etc. Compare Hagenbach Vorlesungen iv. p. 328 ss. These enthusiasts are of no importance in the history of doctrines.

§ 218.

REFORMING TENDENCIES. JOHN VALENTIN ANDREÄ, CALIXT, SPENER, THOMASIUS.

Nor was it the mystics alone, but also theologians of common sense and sound judgment, who, having thrown off the yoke of the theology of the schools, united with those of a more pious tendency for the purpose of reforming the Church. *John Valentin Andreä* combated with the weapons of satire, and yet with due earnestness, both the corruptions of the schools and the mysticism of his age.⁽¹⁾ *George Calixt*, guided by a spirit of Christian moderation, endeavoured to reduce the doctrines necessary to salvation to the Apostles' Creed,

and thus, by degrees, to effect the union of the different denominations, but exposed himself, in consequence, to the charge of *Syncretism*.⁽²⁾ The influence which he exerted upon his age, was less positive than that of *Philip Jacob Spener*, whose sermons, writings, and life, were, in this respect, of equal importance.⁽³⁾ Proceeding on the principles of Christian experience, and resting on the basis of Scriptural truth which he had practically studied, he avoided scholastic subtilty as much as theosophic fancy, and was animated by the mysticism of the heart alone. He, as well as his followers (the Pietists), were at first attacked with fury and scorn, but nevertheless imparted a most beneficial impulse to their age. He was joined by the lawyer *Christian Thomasius*, who took part in preparing the civilization of a new century, more, however, by his scientific and political attainments, than by profound and original views in theology.⁽⁴⁾

⁽¹⁾ He was the nephew of Jacob Andreaë (who was one of the authors of the Formula Concordiae), and died A. D. 1654. On his life, as well as on the sect of the Rosenkreuzers, who stand in close connection with the history of mysticism, see *Hossbach*, Val. Andreaë und sein Zeitalter. Berlin 1819.

⁽²⁾ He was born A. D. 1586. in the duchy of Holstein, and professor of theology in the University of Helmstädt. His works are mentioned § 214. note 7. Compare **Henke*, Calixts Briefe. Halle 1833. By the same: die Univ. Helmstädt im 16. Jahrh. Halle 1833. *Planck*, Geschichte der protestantischen Theologie p. 90 ss. [*Gass*, W., Georg Calixt und der Synkretismus Bresl. 1846. *Schmid Heinr.*, Geschichte der synkretistischen Streitigkeiten in der Zeit des Georg Calixt. Erlang 1846.]

⁽³⁾ He was born A. D. 1635 at Rappoldsweiler in Alsatia. Strassburg, Francfort, Dresden, and Berlin, were successively scenes of his labours. He was a prebendary at Cölln on the Spree, and died 1705. He wrote: Das geistliche Priesterthum. Frankfurt 1677. 12. and other editions.—*Pia desideria*. Francof. 1678.

12. Theol. Bedenken. Halle 1700 ss. 4 voll.—*Consilia et judicia theol.* Francof. 1709. iii. 4. *Letzte theol. Bedenken.* Halle 1721. iii. 4. *Hossbach, Spener und seine Zeit.* Berlin 1827. ii. 8. At the same time *Aug. Herm. Francke* exerted a considerable influence rather on the life of Christians than on systematic theology. Nevertheless the pietistic tendency is of importance in the history of doctrines, on the one hand, because it was indifferent to all scholastic definitions, on the other, because it laid great stress upon the doctrines concerning sin, penance, etc., and lastly, on account of the peculiar direction which it gave to the theology of the evangelical Church. The very diligent study of the Bible could not but produce good fruit. See *Illgen, C. F., Historia Collegii philobiblici.* Lips. 1836–40. 3 Progr.

(4) He died A. D. 1728. Comp. *Luden, Thomasius nach seinen Schicksalen und Schriften.* Berlin 1805.

II. THE REFORMED CHURCH.

§ 219.

ZUINGLIUS AND CALVIN.

In the cities of Glarus, Einsiedeln, and Zurich, *Ulric Zuinglius* preached the pure evangelical doctrine, and combated existing abuses, independently of Luther.⁽¹⁾ In consequence of a difference of opinion concerning the doctrine of the Lord's Supper,⁽²⁾ which manifested itself as soon as Luther's views became known in Switzerland, Zuinglius and the other Swiss reformers were compelled to adopt their own course, and a new Church was formed, apart from the Lutheran, which was afterwards called, by way of distinction, the Reformed Church.⁽³⁾ Zuinglius himself propounded the principles of pure evangelical faith in several writings, which may be regarded as the beginning of a systematic theology of the Reformed

Church.⁽⁴⁾ But it was the French reformer, *John Calvin*,⁽⁵⁾ who, after the death of Zuinglius, composed a work entitled: *Institutio religionis christianæ*, in which those principles were arranged in a system still more connected than the *Loci* of Meiancthon.⁽⁶⁾

(1) He was born A. D. 1484. Jan. 1st. at Wildhaus in the Toggenburg. Concerning his life compare the biographies composed by Oswald Myconius, Nüscheler, Hess, Schuler, and others. His works were edited by Gualther. Tig. 1545 ss. 1581. Tom. iv. fol., and by *Schuler and Schulthess, *Zwingli's Werke*, vol. i. and ii. in German. vol. iii. v. vi. vii. in Latin.—*Leading historical points in the Swiss Reformation during its first period*: 1. Disputation at Zurich (A. D. 1523. Jan. 29th.)—Zuinglius's interpretation of the articles, and his reasons.—2. Disputation (Oct. 26th–28th.) Zuinglius's treatise entitled: *christenliche Ynleitung*.—Decree of the magistrate respecting images, the mass, etc. Final establishment of the Reformation at Zurich. Disputations at Baden (1526) and Berne (1528.) The Reformation of Berne (Bernard Haller, Sebastian Meier, and others.) The Reformation of Basle (1529. Oecolampadius.) The war of Cappel. The death of Zuinglius 1531. Oct. 11th. For further particulars see *Bullinger*, *Reformations geschichte* herausgeg. von Hottinger and Vögeli. iii. Frauenf. 1838. *J. J. Hottinger*, *evangelische Kirchengeschichte*, Zurich 1708. iv. (A new edition by Wirz-Kirchhofer was published, Zurich 1813–19.) *Johannes von Müller*, *Geschichte der schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft*, fortgesetzt von *J. J. Hottinger*. Vol. 6. and 7. Comp. Gieseler iii. 1. p. 5–7.

(2) See the special history of doctrines (the doctrine of the Lord's Supper.)

(3) Luther and the Lutherans called them Sacramentarians, enthusiasts, etc. (afterwards Calvinists.) It was in France that the name "religion prétendue réformée" took its rise.

(4) In addition to the polemical writings, sermons, letters, etc., of Zuinglius, we may mention as bearing upon systematic theology: *Commentarius de vera et falsa religione* (it was addressed to Francis I.) Tigur. 1525.—*Fidei ratio ad Carol. Imp.* Tig. 1530. 4.

Christianæ fidei brevis et clara expositio ad Regem christ. (ed. Bullinger.) Tig. 1536.

(⁵) He was born at Noyon in Picardy A. D. 1519. July 10th. and died at Geneva 1564. May 27th. Concerning his life see: **Henry, Leben Calvins*, Hamb. 1835–45. 4 vol. *Bretschneider, Bildung und Geist Calvins und der Genferkirche* (Reformations-Almanack 1821.)

(⁶) *Christianæ religionis Institutio, totam fere pietatis summam, et quicquid est in doctrina salutis cognitu necessarium, complectens: omnibus pietatis studiosis lectu dignissimum opus* (the preface was addressed to Francis I.) It was composed at Basle A. D. 1535. It is only the edition of 1536 (published in Basle by Thomas Plater) which exists at present as the first: but it is very probable that it was preceded by an anonymous edition written in French (see Henry I. p. 102 ss.) The edition of Basle was followed by those of Strassburg (published by Riheilius 1539, with a few alterations, and again 1543. 45.) and of Geneva 1550. 53. 54.—An entirely new edition appeared 1559 at Geneva (published by Robert Stephanus), from which all later editions were reprinted. Comp. Henry I. c. p. 286 ss. The German translation of Bretschneider appeared 1823 at Elberfeld. In addition to his *Institutio*, Calvin composed several other doctrinal and exegetical works, which will be mentioned in the special history of doctrines. The complete works of Calvin were published Geneva 1617. xii. fol. Amst. 1671. (1677.) ix. fol. Comp. also the *Anecdota* edited by Bretschneider Lips. 1835.

§ 220.

THE SYMBOLICAL BOOKS OF THE REFORMED CHURCH.

Compare the collections mentioned vol. i. § 13.

If we consider the different modes of development in the Reformed Church on the one side, and the history of the Lutheran Reformation in Germany on the other,⁽¹⁾ we may easily account for the difference which manifested itself in the history of their symbolical writings. In

the case of the Reformed Church they were less complete in themselves, being at first restricted to confessions of faith drawn up by individuals, or separate localities, and only by degrees becoming general representations of the doctrines received by the Church. Nor should we overlook the evident difference between the characters of Zuinglius and Calvin.⁽²⁾ But as a more precise definition of the doctrines is highly desirable, it is of importance to make a distinction between those symbolical writings which were composed *apart* from the influence of Calvin, and those which betray the influence exerted by him upon the Reformed doctrine.⁽³⁾ From what has been already said, it follows that we are not to expect a definite number of Calvinistic symbolical writings, inasmuch as only some of them acquired general authority in the Reformed Church, though not all in the same degree, while the importance of others was limited to certain localities,⁽⁴⁾ or to individuals,⁽⁵⁾ or to certain periods at the expiration of which they disappeared.⁽⁶⁾

(1) Compare Hagenbach, *Vorlesungen über Wesen und Geschichte der Reformation* ii. p. 98. p. 103 ss.

(2) Thus they entertained very different opinions concerning the salvation of the heathen. As regards his personal character, Zuinglius probably had far more of Luther in him than Calvin, while the latter is rather to be compared to Melancthon (at least as regards his scientific attainments and writings.) Yet we must not think that his doctrinal views differed very much from those of Zuinglius, *e. g.*, concerning the Lord's Supper, or the doctrine of predestination (see the special history of doctrines.)

(3) Compare Winer, p. 18 and 19.

(4) *E. g.*, the first confession of Basle. Nor were the confessions of different countries (such as the *confessiones Gallicana, Anglicana, Scotica, Belgica, Marchica*, etc.), in the first instance, adopted by any but the Protestants of the respective countries, though the principles contained in them were tacitly recognised

in other Protestant countries, and sometimes signed by their representatives.

⁵⁾ This was the case with the said *Fidei Ratio* of Zuinglius, as well as with his *clara et brevis expositio*, comp. Winer p. 18. On the other hand, the private confession of Bullinger obtained such authority, as to become the second *Confessio Helvetica*; the private confession of Guido of Bres stood in the same relation to the *Confessio Belgica*.

⁶⁾ Thus the *Confessio Tetrapolitana*, which fell into oblivion, the second confession of Basle (the first *Confessio Helvetica* 1536), the *Formula Consensus*, and several others; see the subsequent §§.

§ 221.

A. SYMBOLICAL WRITINGS PRIOR TO THE TIME OF CALVIN.

Escher, in the *Encyclopædia* published by Ersch and Gruber, 2nd Section, Vol. v. p. 223 ss.

As early as the Diet of Augsburg, the four cities of *Strassbourg*, *Constance*, *Memmingen*, and *Lindau* in Upper-Germany, which were favourably disposed to the doctrine of Zuinglius, presented a separate confession of faith, which is on that account called *Confessio Tetrapolitana* (or sometimes *Conf. Argentinensis*, *Suevica*);⁽¹⁾ and Zuinglius also made a statement of his faith before the Emperor Charles V.⁽²⁾ The Church of Basle gave (A. D. 1534.) the first public testimony of her evangelical faith by the publication of a creed, which was also adopted in Mühlhausen (*Confessio Basiliensis i. Mühlhausana*).⁽³⁾ The continuance of the controversy respecting the Lord's Supper, and the efforts made by Bucer and others to restore peace, gave rise to the *Second Confession of Basle*, or the *First Confessio*

Helvetica, which was drawn up A. D. 1536, signed by various Swiss cities, and transmitted to the Lutheran theologians then assembled at Schmalkald.⁽⁴⁾

⁽¹⁾ It was drawn up by M. Bucer, and published A. D. 1531. 4^o., both in German and Latin. German editions of it also appeared Neustadt a. d. Hardt 1580, and Zweibrücken 1604. 4^o. It consists of 23 articles. The 18th article, concerning the Lord's Supper, differs *but little* from the *Confessio Augustana* (see the special history of doctrines.) Planck iii. 1. p. 83 ss. The Latin text is given in the *Corpus et Synt.* i. p. (215 ss.) 173 ss. and by Augusti p. 327. Comp. Winer l. c. and *Wernsdorf*, *historia Confess. Tetrapol. Vite* . 1721. 4.

⁽²⁾ Comp. § 219. note 4. Winer l. c.

⁽³⁾ “*Bekannthuss vnres heyligen Christenlichen Gloubens wie es die kylch zu Basel haldt*” (with the motto: *corde creditur ad justitiam, ore autem fit confessio ad salutem. Rom. x.*) in 12 articles; it was founded upon a sketch drawn up by Oecolampadius (see Hagenbach, *Geschichte der Basler Confession*. Basle 1827. Appendix A.); the German copy of it is given *ibid.* p. 37 ss., the Latin in *Corpus et Synt.* i. (93) 72 ss. Augusti p. 103 ss.

⁽⁴⁾ It was composed at a synod in Basle 1536, by theologians deputed by the cities Zurich, Berne, Basle, Schafhausen, St Gallen, Muhlhausen, and Biel (especially by H. Bullinger, Oswald, Myconius, Simon Grynaeus, Leo Judä, and Caspar Grosmann) with the assistance of Bucer and Capito, the delegates from Strassburg. On the cause and origin of the said confession see **Kirchofer*, Oswald Myconius, Zurich 1813. p. 271–316. *Hess*, *Lebensgeschichte Heinrich Bullingers*, vol. i. p. 199 ss. 217 ss. Escher l. c. On the relation in which it stood to the first confession of Basle, see Hagenbach, *Geschichte der Basler Confession* p. 67.

§ 222.

B. SYMBOLICAL WRITINGS WHICH EVINCE THE INFLUENCE EXERTED BY CALVIN UPON THE REFORMED DOCTRINE.

The Church of Geneva having at first been founded upon the basis of the Calvinistic doctrine, independently of the Church of Zurich, was brought into closer connection with it (A. D. 1549) by means of the *Consensus Tigurinus* (which had reference to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper),⁽¹⁾ while the doctrine of predestination, in its more developed form, was established in the *Consensus Genevensis* (A. D. 1552.)⁽²⁾ But it was not until Frederic III., Prince Elector of the Palatinate, had joined the Reformed Church, that symbols were adopted which obtained general authority. These were, on the one hand, the *Catechism of Heidelberg* (A. D. 1562), drawn up by *Caspar Olevianus* and *Zacharias Ursinus*,⁽³⁾ on the other, the *Second Confessio Helvetica*, composed by Bullinger, and published at the request of the Prince Elector A. D. 1564.⁽⁴⁾ The principles contained in them are also set forth more or less distinctly in the other Reformed creeds, *e. g.* in the *Confessiones Gallicana*,⁽⁵⁾ *Anglicana*,⁽⁶⁾ *Scotiana*,⁽⁷⁾ *Hungarica* (Czengerina),⁽⁸⁾ *Belgica*,⁽⁹⁾ the *Confessio Sigismundi* (Brandenburgica, Marchica),⁽¹⁰⁾ the *Catechismus Genevensis*,⁽¹¹⁾ etc. And lastly, the controversies carried on between the different sections of the Reformed Church (especially concerning the doctrine of predestination),⁽¹²⁾ rendered necessary symbolical definitions similar to those contained in the *Formula Concordiæ* of the Lutheran Church. To these belong the *Decrees of the Synod of Dort* (A. D. 1618),⁽¹³⁾ and the *Formula Consensus* which had been drawn up in Switzerland.⁽¹⁴⁾

(¹) *Consensio mutua in re sacramentaria Ministror. Tigur. et J. Calvinii*, consisting of 36 articles, in *Calvini Opp.* viii. p. 648 ss. and in his *Tract. theolog.* (Geneva 1611. Amst. 1667. fol.) It was separately printed 1554, by Robert Stephen. Winer p. 19. Comp. *Hess*, *Lebensgeschichte Heinrich Bullingers* ii. p. 15–20.

(²) *De æterna Dei prædestinatione, qua in salutem alios ex hominibus elegit, alios suo exitio reliquit, it. de providentia, qua res humanas gubernat, consensus pastorum Genevensis ecclesiæ, a J. Calvino expositus.* Genev. 1552. 8. in *Opp.* vii. 688 ss., and in vol. viii. of the Dutch edition, p. 593 ss. *Tract. theol.* p. 688. On the (erroneous) statement of Planck and Marheinecke, that this consensus had also been adopted by the inhabitants of Zurich, see Escher l. c. *Hagenbach*, *Geschichte der Basler Confess.* p. 83. and Winer p. 19.

(³) Its proper title is: *Christlicher Unterricht, wie der in Kirchen und Schulen der churf. Pfalz getrieben wirdt* (*i. e.*, Christian instruction, as it is imparted in the churches and schools of the Palatinate.) It was also called *Catech. Palatinus*, the Palatine catechism. *Joshua Lagus* and *Lambert Ludolph Pithopæus* translated it into Latin. An edition, which contained both the Latin and the German, appeared Heidelberg 1563. 8. In later times, it was translated into almost all the modern languages, and very frequently commented upon. It consists of three principal parts: 1. Concerning the misery of man in consequence of sin; 2. Concerning the redemption from that state; and, 3. Concerning man's gratitude for that redemption. It is divided into 129 questions. (The 80th question concerning the mass was omitted in many editions.) Comp. *Simon von Alpen*, *Geschichte und Literatur des Heidelberger Katechismus* Frankf. a. M. 1810. 8. *Rienäcker* (in der allgemeinen Encyclopædie 2d sect. 4th part.) *Beckhaus* in *Illgens historischer Zeitschrift* viii. 2. p. 39. and *Augusti* (see p. 10.)

(⁴) *Confessio helvetica posterior* (it was also called: *confessio et expositio brevis et simplex sinceræ religionis christianæ.*) At the request of Frederic iii. Prince Elector of the Palatinate (1564), it was edited by Bullinger, first in Latin (1566), and afterwards in a German translation made by the author himself. It was republished by *Kindler* 1825. 8., and by **O. F. Fritzsche*

Tur. 1839 (with Prolegomena.) Compare Escher l. c. It consisted of 30 chapters, and was adopted not only in Switzerland, but also in Germany (in the Palatinate), and Scotland, as well as by the Polish, Hungarian, and French Reformed churches. It was translated into French by Theodore Beza. Geneva 1566. 8. and by Cellérier, *ibid.* 1819. 8.

⁽⁵⁾ It consisted of 40 articles. It is doubtful whether it was composed by Calvin or not. It was approved of by the Synod of Paris A. D. 1559, presented first to Francis II. A. D. 1560, and afterwards to Charles IX. A. D. 1561, and confirmed by the Synod of Rochelle 1571. A Latin translation of it appeared 1566. *Comp. Corp. et Synt. i. p. (99.) 77 ss. Augusti p. 110 ss.* It is a different work from that which was published at Heidelberg 1566. 8. under the title: *Confession und Kurze Bekanntschaft des Glaubens der reformirten Kirchen in Frankreich (i. e., a creed and short confession of faith adopted by the French Reformed churches.)* For further particulars see Winer p. 19.

⁽⁶⁾ Commonly called the 39 articles, which were drawn up by *Cranmer* and *Ridley* in the reign of King Edward VI. (A. D. 1551), revised in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and confirmed 1562, by the Synod of London. They were originally published under the title: *Articuli, de quibus convenit inter Archiepiscopos et Episcopos utriusque Provinciæ, et Clerum universum in Synodo, Londini anno 1562, secundum computationem Ecclesiæ anglicanæ, ad tollendam opinionum dissensionem, et consensum in vera rel, firmandum; editi auctoritate serenissimæ Reginæ 1571.* The English edition is given in the *Books of Common Prayer*, the Latin in *Corp. et Synt. i. p. (125.) 99 ss. Augusti p. 126 ss.* The *Church Catechism* was composed by John Poinet (1553) in four sections, by the order of King Edward VI. *Comp. Winer p. 22.*

⁽⁷⁾ It was published A. D. 1560, and consisted of 25 articles. Its principal author was the Scotch Reformer, *John Knox* (his views on the doctrine of predestination were less Calvinistic than those on the Lord's Supper.) *Corp. et Synt. i. (137.) p. 109 ss. Augusti p. 143 ss.* Another confession from the year 1581 was added. It is different from the Westminster Confession of Faith 1643. (Cantabr. 1659. 8, Edinb. 1671. 12.) *Comp. Gemberg, schottische National Kirche p. 11. Winer l. c.*

(8) It was drawn up at a Synod of the Hungarian Reformed churches, A. D. 1557 or 58, and consisted of 11 articles. Schröckh, *Kirchengeschichte nach der Reformation* ii. p. 737. Corp. et Synt. i. (186.) p. 148 ss. Winer p. 20. Augusti p. 241 ss.

(9) It was originally a private confession of *Guido of Bres*, and was, for the first time, published A. D. 1562, in the Walloon language (it consisted of 37 articles.) It was soon after translated into Dutch, approved of by the Dutch congregations, and even signed by several princes. It was solemnly confirmed by the synod of Dort. It was edited by *Festus Hommius*, Lugd. Bat. 1618. 4. and several times subsequently. See Augusti p. 170 ss.

(10) Its original title was : Des hochgebornen Fürsten Johann Siegmund etc. Bekännndniss von jetzigen unter den Evangelischen schwebenden und in Streit gezogenen Punkten, etc. (*i. e.*, The confession of the illustrious Prince John Sigismund, etc., concerning those points respecting which Protestants are now at issue.) It consisted of 16 articles. It is not to be confounded with the confession of faith adopted by the Reformed evangelical churches of Germany, which was published at Frankfort on the Oder 1614, by order of the same prince. For further particulars see Winer p. 21. It is reprinted by Augusti p. 369 ss.

(11) It was composed by Calvin, and appeared 1541, in a French edition, and 1545 in a Latin one. It consists of 4 principal parts (Faith, Law, Prayer, and Sacraments.) *Calvini Opera* T. viii. p. 11 ss. Winer p. 22. Augusti p. 460.

(12) See the special history of doctrines (the chapters on predestination.)

(13) It lasted from A. D. 1618. Nov. 13th, to A. D. 1619. May 9th, and held 145 sessions. Its decrees,] etc. were published in the *Actis Synodi nationalis* etc. Dort. 1620. 4.

(14) It was directed, in the first instance, against the theory of particularism, which had spread in the academy of Saumur (comp. § 223. note 3.), and owed its origin chiefly to *Heinrich Heidegger* of Zurich, *Francis Turretin* of Geneva, and *Lucas Gernler* of Basle. An outline of it was drawn up by Heidegger under the title : *Formula Consensus Ecclesiarum Helveticarum reformatarum circa doctrinam de gratia universali et connexa, aliaque nonnulla capita*. It consists of 26 articles. Concerning its history, and the controversies to which it gave rise, as well as concerning

its final abolition (by the intervention of Prussia and England, A. D. 1723) see *Pfaff*, C. M., *Schediasma de form. consens. Helvet.* Tub. 1723. 4.—*Hottinger*, J. J., *Succincta ac genuina formulæ consensus Helv. historia* (in the *Bibl. Brem.* vii. p. 669 ss. It was separately published Zur. 1723.) *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des troubles arrivées en Suisse à l'occasion du consensus.* Amst. 1726. (by Barnaud, pastor at La Tour, near Vevay.) *Meister*, Leonh., *helvet. Scenen der neuern Schwärmerei und Intoleranz.* Zürich 1785. p. 3 ss. *Escher* in der *allgemeinen Encyclopædie* l. c. p. 243 ss.

Among the symbols of the Reformed Church are further enumerated: the *Confessiones Polonicæ*. (1. *Consensus Sendomiriensis* 1570. 2. *Thoruniensis Synodi generalis* a. D. 1595 d. 21. Aug. celebratæ canones.) *Confessio Bohemica*, 1535, (1558. 4.) *Colloquium Lipsiacum*. 1631. *Declaratio Thoruniensis* 1645. (They are all reprinted in the work of Augusti, who also gives every desirable historical information.)—On the symbols of the Puritans see: *Niemeyer*, G. A., *Collectionis Confessionum in ecclesiis reformatis publicatarum appendix.* Lips. 1840. *Conf. Westmonasteriensis* (1659. 60. 64.), and the two catechisms (1647.) *Hallsche Literatur Zeitung* Jan. 1841.

§ 223.

THE SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH.

On the literature, comp. § 216.

Systematic theology was on the whole less cultivated in the Reformed Church than exegesis, though it was not altogether neglected. In addition to the labours of Zuinglius and Calvin (§ 219.), many of their followers, such as *Heinr. Bullinger*,⁽¹⁾ *Andr. Gerh. Hyperius*,⁽²⁾ *Wolfgang Musculus*,⁽³⁾ *Ben. Aretius*,⁽⁴⁾ *Will. Bucanus*,⁽⁵⁾ *Theodore Beza*,⁽⁶⁾ *John Henry Heidegger*,⁽⁷⁾ and others, wrote compendiums of dogmatic theology. The scholastic method also found its way into the Reformed Church, as the representatives of which we may mention *Bartholomew Keckermann*,⁽⁸⁾ *Amandus Polanus* a

Polansdorf,⁽⁹⁾ *J. H. Alsted*,⁽¹⁰⁾ *John Maccovius*,⁽¹¹⁾ *Gisbert Vöetius*,⁽¹²⁾ *Mark Frederick Wendelin*,⁽¹³⁾ *John Hornbeck*,⁽¹⁴⁾ *Samuel Maresius*,⁽¹⁵⁾ *Andrew Rivetus*,⁽¹⁶⁾ and others. A peculiar theological system, the so-called federal method, was established by *J. Coccejus*,⁽¹⁷⁾ and more fully developed by his followers.⁽¹⁸⁾ *Melchior Leydecker*, on the contrary, founded his system of theology upon the three persons of the Trinity.⁽¹⁹⁾ Others again adopted other methods.⁽²⁰⁾

(1) He was born A. D. 1504, and died 1575. See: *Hess*, *Lebensgeschichte Heinrich Bullingers*: 2 voll. 1828. 29.—He wrote: *Compend. rel. christ. e puro Dei verbo depromptum*. Basil. 1556. Concerning the part which he took in the composition of various confessions of faith, see the preceding §.

(2) He was born A. D. 1511 at Ypern, and died 1564 as professor of theology in the university of Marburg. His theological works are: *Methodi Theologiæ sive præcipuorum christ. rel. locorum communium* Libb. iii. Basil. 1568. 8. *Varia opuscula theol.* ibid. 1570. 71. *Comp. Semler's Einleitung zu Baumgarten's Glaubenslehre* p. 46 ss. *Heinrich* p. 293 ss.

(3) His proper name was Müsliu, or Mösel. He was born A. D. 1497 in Lothringia, and died 1563 as professor of theology in the university of Berne. He is the author of: *Loci communes theol.* Bern. 1573. 8. *Opp. Bas.* ix. fol. *Semler*, l. c. p. 56. note 28.

(4) He died A. D. 1574 as professor of theology in the university of Berne. He wrote: *Theologica Problemata sive loci communes*. Bern. 1604. *Semler* l. c. p. 54. note 26. *Heinrich* p. 296.

(5) He was professor of theology in the university of Lausanne towards the commencement of the seventeenth century, and wrote: *Institutt. theol. etc.* Brem. 1604. *Genev.* 12.

(6) He was born A. D. 1519 at Vécelay, and died 1605. (Compare his biography by *Schlosser*. *Heidelb.* 1809.) *Questionum et responsionum christ. libellus* in his *Tractt. theol.* vol. i. p. 654.

(7) He was born A. D. 1633, professor of theology in the university of Zurich, and died 1689. He wrote: *Corpus Theologiæ*

christianæ, etc. Syst. theologiæ didacticæ, elenchthicæ, moralis et historicæ. Tur. 1700. 32. ii. fol.

(⁸) He was born at Dantzic, professor in the university of Heidelberg, and died 1609. Aug. 25th (Adami vitæ philos. p. 232 ss. Bayle, Diet : “ *his works abound in plagiarisms, and have themselves been plagiarized by many others.*”) He wrote : Systema ss. Theol. tribus libris adornat. Hanoviæ 1607. Opp. Genev. 1614. 4.

(⁹) He was born at Troppau in Silesia A. D. 1561, delivered lectures in the university of Basle, and died 1610. (comp. Athenæ raur. p. 37.) He composed a Syntagma Theol. christ. Han. 1610.

(¹⁰) He was born A. D. 1588 at Herborn, and died at Weissenbourg A. D. 1638, where he was professor of theology. His works are very numerous : Theologia naturalis Francof. 1615. 22. 4.—Theologia catechetica. ib. 1622. 4. Han. 1722. 4.—Theologia scholastica. ib. 1618. 4.—Theol. didactica. 1627. 4.—Theologia polemica. ibid. eod.—Theologia prophetica. ib. 1622. 4.—Theol. casuum. Hanov. 1630. 4.

(¹¹) His proper name was Makowsky ; he was born at Lobzenik in Polonia A. D. 1508, professor of theology in Franeker, and died A. D. 1644. He adopted the Aristotelian method of investigation, and composed : Loci commun. theol. Fran. 1639. 8. ed. auct. Nic. Arnold 1650. 4. An improved edition of this work appeared 1658. In addition he wrote : Quæstiones theolog. Francof. 1626. 8. Distinctiones et regulæ theolog. Amst. 1656. 12. Heinrich p. 355.

(¹²) He was born A. D. 1589 at Heusden in Holland, held a professorship of theology in the university of Utrecht, and died 1676. (He opposed Cartesius.) Of his works we mention : Theol. naturalis reformata. Lond. 1656. 4. Institutiones theol. Traj. 1642. 4.—Disputationes selectæ. ibid. 1648. Amst. 1669. 5 Voll. 4.—See Buddæus i. p. 417. (375.) Heinrich p. 355. 56.

(¹³) He was born A. D. 1584 at Sandhagen near Heidelberg, and died 1652 at Zerbst, where he was Rector Gymnasii. He wrote : Christ. Theol. Libri ii. methodice dispositi Han. 1634. 41. Amst. 46. Christ. Theol. systema majus. Cassell. 1656. 4. Buddæus p. 416. Heinrich p. 356.

(¹⁴) He was born A. D. 1617, at Harlem, and died 1666, as a

professor in the university of Leyden. He composed : *Institutt. theol. Ultraj.* 1653. *Lugd. Bat.* 58. 8. See *Buddæus* p. 417. *Heinrich* p. 357.

(15) His proper name was *Des Marets* ; he was born A. D. 1598 at *Oisemont* in the province of *Picardy*, and died 1673 at *Groningen*. Of his works we mention : *Collegium theologicum sive systema universale.* *Gron.* 1658. 4.—*Theologiæ elenchticæ nova synopsis sive index controversiarum, etc.* *ibid.* 1648. ii. 4. and several others.

(16) He was born A. D. 1573, and died 1651. He wrote especially exegetical works. The following is of a polemico-dogmatic character : *Catholicus orthodoxus sive summa controversiarum inter orthodoxos et pontificios.* *Lugd. Bat.* 1630. ii. 4. He also composed several controversial writings, and other treatises. *Opp. Rotterd.* 1651. 60. iii. fol.

(17) His original name was *Koch*. He was born at *Bremen* 1603, and died 1669. His doctrinal system was founded upon the idea of a covenant between God and man. He distinguished between the covenant before the fall (the covenant of works), and the covenant after the fall (the covenant of grace.) The latter covenant embraces a threefold economy : 1. The economy prior to the law. 2. The economy under the law. 3. The economy of the Gospel. His principles are developed in his *Summa doctrinæ de fœdere et testamentis Dei* 1648. See *Buddæus* p. 417. *Heinrich* p. 358 ss.

(18) To these belonged *Wilhelm Momma, Franciscus Burrmann, Alb. Heidanus, Joh. Braun, Nic. Gûrtler, Herm. Witsius*, and others. See *Walch* p. 222 ss. *Heinrich* p. 362 ss.

(19) He was born A. D. 1642, at *Middelburg* in the Dutch province of *Seeland*, and died 1721, as professor of theology in the university of *Utrecht*. (His views were opposed to those of *Coccejus*.) He wrote : *De œconomia trium personarum in negotio salutis humanæ libri vi.* *Traj.* 1682. 12.

(20) Thus *Heinr. Hulsius, Le Blanc, Markius, and Turretin.* *Comp.* *Walch* p. 225 ss. *Heinrich* p. 373 ss.

§ 224.

THE MYSTICISM OF THE REFORMED CHURCH.

The mysticism of the Roman Catholic Church was introduced into the Reformed Church first by *John Labadie* and his followers,⁽¹⁾ and afterwards by *Peter Poiret*,⁽²⁾ a disciple of *Antoinette Bourignon*.⁽³⁾ In England, *Joanne Leade*⁽⁴⁾ was followed by *John Pordage*,⁽⁵⁾ *Thomas Bromley*, and others. But this kind of mysticism, which was partly fantastic, partly indifferent to all systematic forms, has exerted little or no influence upon the developement of theology.⁽⁶⁾

(1) He was born A. D. 1610 at Bourg, in the province of Guienne, joined the Reformed Church without understanding its fundamental principles, and died 1674 at Altona. In many points he agreed with the Anabaptists.—Among the number of his admirers we may mention *Anna Maria von Schurmann*, *Peter Yvon*, *Peter du Lignon*, *Henry* and *Peter Schluter*. Comp. Arnold, *Kirchen- und Ketzergeschichte* Vol. ii. p. 680. Hagenbach, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Reformation* iv. p. 307.

(2) He was born A. D. 1646, at Metz, and died 1719, at Rheinsburg. His writings are of greater importance for the history of doctrines than those of the other mystics (though only in a negative aspect.) Concerning his life and his works see Arnold l. c. p. 163. *Biographie universelle sub loco*, and Hagenbach, *Vorlesungen* iv. p. 325.

(3) She was born A. D. 1616, at Lisle, in Flanders, and died 1680, at Franecker. A memoir of her life was published Amst. 1683. See *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* 1837. Hagenbach *Vorlesungen* iv. p. 312 ss.—*Amos Comenius*, *Swämerdam*, and others, adopted her opinions.

(4) She was born A. D. 1633, and died 1714; she was an enthusiast. Comp. Corrodi, *Geschichte des Chiliasmus* iii. p. 403

ss. Arnold, Kirchen- und Ketzergesch. p. 199. 298 ss. Hagenbach, Vorlesungen iv. p. 345.

(⁵) Corrodi l. c.

(⁶) The mysticism of the Lutheran Church was of greater speculative importance than that of the Reformed. The former also exerted a greater influence upon the life of the German nation (domestic worship, etc.) than the latter, which was more cultivated by private individuals.

§ 225.

INFLUENCE OF THE CARTESIAN PHILOSOPHY, AND OTHER MORE LIBERAL TENDENCIES UPON THE DEVELOPEMENT OF THEOLOGY.

Mysticism exerted less influence upon the gradual transformation of the doctrinal views of Calvinists, than the philosophical system of Cartesius, especially in the Netherlands.⁽¹⁾ *Balthasar Bekker*, who not only combated the "*World deluded*," but also attacked the orthodox doctrines of the Church, belonged to the school of Cartesians.⁽²⁾ But, apart from the influence of philosophy, a more liberal tendency, which endeavoured to shake off the yoke of symbolical writings, manifested itself in different quarters. Such was the case in the university of Saumur,⁽³⁾ where this tendency was connected with Arminian notions, and among the Latitudinarians of England.⁽⁴⁾ Among the Swiss theologians *John Alph. Turretin*,⁽⁵⁾ *Ben. Pictet*,⁽⁶⁾ and *Samuel Werenfels*,⁽⁷⁾ were distinguished by moderate views, though they remained orthodox; thus they formed, not only in reference to their principles, but also in regard to the period in which they lived, the point of transition towards the eighteenth century.

(1) Renatus Cartesius (his original name was René Descartes) was born A. D. 1596, and died 1650, at Stockholm. His maxim :

“Cogito, ergo sum” is well known. His philosophy gave rise to commotions in Holland. Gisbert Voëtius, the principal opponent of Cartesius, charged him A. D. 1639 with atheism. The philosophy of Cartesius was condemned A. D. 1647 (and again 1676) by the senate of the university of Leyden, as well as 1657 by the synod of Delft. Several of the mystics just mentioned belonged originally to the school of Cartesius.

(2) He was born A. D. 1634, in Westfriesland, adopted the principles of Cartesius, was dismissed from office on account of his opinions, and died 1698. (Compare the chapter on demonology in the special history of doctrines.) His principal work “*die bezauberte Welt*,” Franeker 1692. 4°. contains the germs of the rationalism of later times.

(3) Representatives of the more liberal tendency were, among others, *Moses Amyraldus* (Amyraud), *Joshua de la Place*, *Lewis Capellus*, etc. It was especially in opposition to their notions, that the Formula Consensus was drawn up.

(4) Among them we may mention *William Chillingworth* (1602–1644), *Ralph Cudworth* (he died 1688), *Tillotson*, *Stillingfleet*, and several others.

(5) He was the son of the strictly orthodox Francis Turretin, born 1671, and died at Geneva A. D. 1737. He wrote: *Opuscula* Brunsv. 1726, ii. 8.—*Dilucidationes phil. theol. et dogmatico-morales, quibus præcipua capita theologiæ et naturalis et revelatæ demonstrantur.* Lugd. Bat. 1748. iii. 4. and several others.

(6) He was born A. D. 1655, and died A. D. 1724, at Geneva. He composed a *Theologia christiana* Gen. 1696. ii. 8.—*Medulla Theologiæ* ibid. 1711. 12. and several other works.

(7) He was born 1657, and died 1740. (*Athenæ rauricæ*. p. 57. *Hanhart, R.*) in der wissenschaftlichen Zeitschrift. Basle 1824. part 1. p. 22. part 2. p. 83 ss.) He wrote: *Opuscula theologica.* Basil. 1782. iii. 8.

III. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

§ 226.

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT, AND THE CATECHISMUS
ROMANUS.

† *Sarpi* [P. Soave Pol.], *Istoria del Concilio di Trento*. London 1619.
 † *Pallavicini*, *Istoria del Conc. di Trento*. Rom. 1636. ii. fol. translated by
 † *Klitsche*, Augsburg 1835. *Chemnitii Examen Concillii Tridentini*. Fran-
 cof. 1707. *Salig*, vollständige Historie des Tridentinischen Conciliums.
 Halle 1741. fol. iii. 4. † *Göschl*, *Dr J. M. geschichtliche Darstellung des*
grossen allgemeinen Concils zu Trient. ii. Regensb. 1840.

Confronted by Protestantism, the Roman Catholics found themselves compelled to examine the state of their own Church. They had to perform a twofold task, viz., *first*, to secure the doctrines which they proposed from misrepresentations, and false consequences, and *secondly*, to hold fast, with renewed vigour, that which their principles bound them to maintain. The Council of Trent (1545-1563) had therefore to enlighten the Roman Catholic Church on her own position, and solemnly to sanction the system developed, to a great extent, by the scholastics of the preceding period, in direct opposition to the demands of the reformers. The canons of this council,⁽¹⁾ as well as those set forth in the Roman Catholic catechism, which was based upon the former,⁽²⁾ are therefore to be regarded as the true symbols of the Romish Church, and every other system must renounce all claims to catholicity.

(1) *Canones et decreta Concilii Tridentini* Rom. 1564. 4. In the same year several editions were published at Rome, Venice, Antwerp, Louvain, Cologne, and many others. Lyons 1580. (with the *Index librorum prohibitorum*.) In later times editions

were published by *J. Gallemart*, Col. 1618. 20. Antw. 1644, Lyons 1712, by *Phil. Chiffolet*. Antw. 1640, and * *Jodoc. le Plat*. Antw. 1779. 4. Comp. Walch, *Bibl. Theol.* Tom. i. p. 407 ss. reprinted by Danz and Streitwolf (comp. Vol. i. p. 18.) As regards the history of doctrines and Symbolik, the Sessions 4–7. 13. 14. 21–25. are of special importance.—The *Professio fidei Tridentinæ*, based upon the canons of the council, was drawn up A. D. 1564, by order of Pope Pius IV., and none could obtain either an ecclesiastical office or an academical dignity, etc., without subscribing it. It will be found in the *Bullar. Roman.* T. ii. p. 127 ss. (and in the form of an appendix in the earlier edition of Winer.) Comp. *Mohnicke, G. Ch. F.*, *urkundliche Geschichte der sogenannten Professio fidei Trident.* etc. Greifswalde 1822. 8. Winer p. 9.

(2) The *Catechismus Romanus* was composed (in accordance with a resolution of the Council of Trent sess. 25.) by Archbishop *Leon Marino*, Bishop *Egidius Foscarari*, and *Fr. Fureiro*, a Portuguese scholar, under the superintendence of three cardinals, and published A. D. 1566, by authority of Pope Pius IV. (the Latin by Paul Manutius.) Several editions and translations into the modern languages were published, of which the edition of Mayence 1834. 12. is intended for general use. In the earlier editions nothing but the text was given, without any division; in the edition of Cologne 1572, it was for the first time divided into books and chapters; that of Antwerp 1574 contained questions and answers. The catechism consists of four parts: de symbolo apostolico, de sacramentis, de decalogo, and de oratione dominica. Concerning the relation in which the catechism stands to the canons of the Council of Trent, and the inferior importance assigned to it by the Jesuits and other Roman Catholic theologians, see Winer l. c.

The catechisms composed by the Jesuit *P. Canisius* (the larger of which appeared 1554, the smaller 1566), which acquired greater authority than the *Catechismus Romanus*, did not receive the sanction of the Pope, and on that account cannot be regarded as symbolical books; but they excited more attention, and gave rise to new controversies. Comp. *Joh. Wigand*, *Warnung vor dem Catechismus des Dr. Canisii, des grossen Jesuwidders.* Jena 1570. 4. The *Confutatio* (comp. § 215. note 2.) might also be regarded as a document which sets forth the principles of Romanism, in opposition to Protestantism; but it was not formally sanctioned by the Church.

§ 227.

THE SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Among the theologians who defended the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church during the age of the Reformation,⁽¹⁾ *Desiderius Erasmus* occupied the most prominent place, though he did not transmit to posterity a system of dogmatic theology.⁽²⁾ After the Council of Trent, it was the members of the Order of Jesus, in particular,⁽³⁾ who made the defence of modern Romanism (both theoretically and practically) the task of their lives. The most conspicuous doctrinal and polemical writer among them was *Robert Bellarmine*,⁽⁴⁾ while *Dionysius Petavius* endeavoured to prove historically the antiquity of the catholic faith.⁽⁵⁾ The following writers on dogmatic theology, and others also, belonged to that religious society: *Peter Canisius*,⁽⁶⁾ *Alphonse Salmeron*,⁽⁷⁾ *John Maldonat*,⁽⁸⁾ *Francis Suarez*,⁽⁹⁾ *Gabriel Vasquez*,⁽¹⁰⁾ *Francis Coster*,⁽¹¹⁾ *Martin Becanus*,⁽¹²⁾ and others. Among the opponents of the Jesuits, and their scholastic method, *Melchior Canus*, a Dominican monk, was the most distinguished.⁽¹³⁾ *Jacques Bénigne Bossuet*, the acute and clever bishop of Meaux, by spiritualizing Catholicism in the best possible way, endeavoured to render it more agreeable to Protestants, while, on the other hand, he showed the changes which their doctrines had undergone within a short space of time.⁽¹⁴⁾

(1) On *Thomas Cajetan* (who wrote a commentary on Thomas Aquinas), *Eck*, *Faber*, *Cochläus*, *Wimpina*, *Ambrose Catharinus*, and others; see the works on the history of the Reformation. *Bouginé*, *Literaturgeschichte* ii. p. 70 ss. Concerning

George Wicel, who returned to the Romish Church (he was born A. D. 1501, and died 1573, he wrote: *Via regia*. Helmst. 1650, *de sacris nostri temporis controversiis*. ibid. 1659) comp. * *Neander*, *de Georgio Vicelio*. Berol. 1839. 4. and by the same: *das Eine und Mannigfache des christlichen Lebens*. Berlin 1840. p. 167 ss.

(2) He died at Basle A. D. 1536. The most important of his controversial writings, in which he opposed Luther's notions concerning the will of man, are mentioned in the special history of doctrines. Comp. * *Ad. Müller*, *Leben des Erasmus von Rotterdam*. Hamb. 1828. 8.

(3) On the foundation of this order by *Ignatius Loyola* (1534-40), see the works on ecclesiastical history. Respecting the doctrinal views of the Jesuits (mariolatry) see *Baumgarten Crusius*, *Compendium der Dogmengesch.* i. p. 394. 95.

(4) "As regards controversies, he was the best writer of his age."—*Bayle*. He was born A. D. 1542, at Monte-Pulciano in Toscana, entered the order of the Jesuits, was appointed cardinal 1599, archbishop of Capua 1602, and died 1621. He wrote: *Disputationes de controversiis fidei adv. hujus temporis hæreticos*. Ingolst. 1581. 82. ii. f. P. iii. 1592 f. Venet. 1596. iii. f. This work was opposed not only by Protestants, but also by some Roman Catholics. See *Schröckh*, *Kirchengesch. nach der Reformation* iv. p. 260 ss. The best Protestant work written against *Bellarmin* was that of *Scherzer, J. A.* (he died 1683.) *Antibellarminus*. Lips. 1681. 4.

(5) He was born at Orleans A. D. 1583, and died at Paris 1652. He wrote *Opus de theologicis dogmatibus*. Par. 1644-50. iv. Antw. 1700. vi. *Heinrich* p. 377 ss. His method was adopted by *Ludw. Thomassin* in his *dogmata theologica* 1680-84. See *Heinrich* p. 582.

(6) His original name was *de Hondt*; he was born A. D. 1511, and died 1597. He was the author of a *Summa doctrinæ christianæ* (*Institutiones christianæ*.) Par. 1628. f., and of the two catechisms mentioned § 226.

(7) He was born at Toledo, and died A. D. 1585. His works were published at Madrid 1597-1602. Cologne 1612. xvi. fol.

(8) He was born A. D. 1534, taught in the universities of Sala-

manca and Paris, and died 1583. His works appeared at Paris 1643. 77. iii. fol. Heinrich p. 302 ss. Schröckh iv. p. 83.

(9) He died A. D. 1617, at Lisbon. He wrote: *Commentatio in Thomæ summam*. Mogunt. 1619-29. xix. f.

(10) He died A. D. 1604. He wrote: *Commentarii in Thomam*. Ingolstadt. 1606. Ven. 1608. Antw. 1621.

(11) He was professor of theology and philosophy in the university of Cologne, provincial of his order in the Rhine provinces, and died A. D. 1619. He wrote: *Enchiridion præcipuarum controvers. in religione—Meditationes—*Schröckh iv. p. 280.

(12) He was successively professor in the universities of Würzburg, Mayence, and Vienna, and died 1624, as confessor to the Emperor Ferdinand II. He wrote: *Summa Theol.—Manuale controversiarum hujus temporis.—Opp.* Mogunt. 1630. 1649. ii. f.

(13) He was a native from Taracon, and died A. D. 1560, as the provincial of his order in Castile. He wrote: *Locorum theol. libr. xii.* Salam. 1563. f. Padua 1714. 4. Venet. 1759. 4. and Vienna 1764, (edited by Hyacinth Serry.) *Comp.* Heinrich p. 298 ss. Schröckh iv. p. 66 ss.

(14) He was born at Dijon A. D. 1627, was appointed bishop of Meaux 1681, and died 1704. Of his works we mention: *Exposition de la doctrine de l'église catholique*, 1671, edited by *Fleury*. Antw. 1678. 12.—*Histoire des variations des églises protestantes*. Par. (and Amst.) 1688. ii. 8. He was opposed by: *Basnage* (*hist. de la rel. des églises réformées*. Rot. 1721) and *Pfaff* (*Disputatt. Anti-Bossuet*. Tub. 1720.) Several Roman Catholics also pronounced against Bossuet's interpretation of their doctrines, e. g. *Maimbourg*, a Jesuit. See Schröckh vii. p. 280 ss.

§ 228.

JANSENISM.

* *Reuchlin*, Geschichte von Port-Royal, der Kampf des reformirten und jesuitischen Katholicismus unter Ludwig xiii. xiv. Hamb. 1839. vol. i. [Comp. also *Hase* Kirchengeschichte, edit. 4th. p. 485-86. where the literature is given.]

It was in opposition to the said Jesuitico-Pelagian

system of dogmatic theology and ethics that *Jansenism* took its rise, following some earlier examples,⁽¹⁾ and spread from the Netherlands into France, gaining powerful friends and supporters in the Congregation of Port-Royal.⁽²⁾ On the one hand (in reference to the doctrine of election, etc.) the Jansenists manifested a leaning towards Protestantism, and thus realized Protestant principles within the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church; on the other (as regards the sacraments and the doctrine of the church), they retained the views of the latter. In both respects their notions were in accordance with the earlier system of Augustine, which they were desirous of restoring in all its purity.⁽³⁾ The theologians of Port-Royal, such as *Antione Arnauld*,⁽⁴⁾ *Peter Nicole*,⁽⁵⁾ and others, exerted greater influence upon the belief of their contemporaries, by their practico-ascetic writings, or scientific works of a more general character, than by strictly dogmatic works. It was the profound *Pascal* especially, who advanced the good cause, both by his opposition to the casuistry of the Jesuits, and by his ingenious defence of Christianity.⁽⁶⁾ *Paschasius Quesnel*, a priest of the Oratory, propagated Jansenistic principles, together with the New Testament, among the people, and thus exposed the Jansenists to new persecutions, and called forth new controversies.⁽⁷⁾

(1) On an earlier manifestation of the Augustinian tendency in the Catholic Church, see *Ranke*, *Geschichte der Päpste* i. p. 199. and the special history of doctrines.—Concerning the doctrines of *M. Bajus* at Louvain, and the controversy to which they gave rise, respecting *Lewis Molina* and others, see *ibidem*.

(2) *Cornelius Jansen* was born A. D. 1585, and died 1638, as bishop of Ypern. His principal work was edited after his death: *Augustinus seu doctrina S. Augustini de humanæ naturæ sanitate, ægritudine, medicina adversus Pelagianos et Massilienses*.

Low 1640, iii. f. Concerning the external history of Jansenism (the bull in eminenti issued by Pope Urban VIII. A. D. 1642.), as well as *Jean du Vergier*, abbot of St Cyran, and Port-Royal des Champs, compare Reuchlin l. c. and the works on ecclesiastical history in general; as regards the scientific importance of the Society of Port-Royal, in its bearing upon France, see the works on the history of literature, especially: *Sainte Beuve*, Port-Royal. Paris 1840.

(3) Comp. Vol. i. p. 236. 310. Jansenism may be called Protestantism within the Roman Catholic Church, if Jesuitism (which is the antithesis of the former) be made to represent modern Catholicism. But we ought to bear in mind, that this can be said only in reference to the doctrines of grace and of good works. As regards the sacraments (and especially the Lord's Supper), the Jansenists have strictly retained the views of the Roman Catholic Church, and are quite as decidedly opposed to the Protestant doctrines as the Council of Trent, or the Jesuits.

(4) He was born A. D. 1612, and died 1694. His complete works appeared after his death, Lausanne 1780. 4. Comp. Reuchlin p. 132 ss. Kirchenhistorisches Archiv. 1824, p. 101 ss.

(5) He was born A. D. 1625, and died 1695. He opposed the Jesuits as well as the Protestants. Kirchen. Archiv. l. c. p. 121 ss.

(6) He was born A. D. 1623. at Clermont in Auvergne, and died 1662. He wrote: *Les Provinciales* (Lettres écrites par Louis Montalte à un provincial de ses amis.) Col. 1657.—*Pensées sur la religion* 1669. They were translated into German by *K. A. Blech*, with a preface by Neander. Berlin 1840. *Oeuvres* Paris 1816. Comp. the biography composed by his sister (Mad. Périer), and prefixed to his *Pensées*, *Theremin* (Adalberts Bekenntnisse. Berlin 1831) p. 222 ss. *Rust*, J., de Blasio Pascale. Erlang. 1833. 4. and * *Reuchlin*, Pascals Leben und der Geist seiner Schriften. Stuttg. 1840.

(7) He died A. D. 1719. He published: *Le Nouveau Testament en français av. des réflexions morales etc.* Par. 1687. On the controversies respecting the constitution of the Church, see the works on ecclesiastical history.

§ 229.

THE MYSTICISM OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Notwithstanding all the efforts made by Roman Catholics to obtain the ascendancy in science, art, and politics (an attempt in which the Jesuits displayed the greatest activity), they never entirely lost sight of that spiritual tendency which had characterised the orthodox mystics of the middle ages. As the most distinguished representatives of this tendency, we may mention several theologians who were afterwards canonized, such as *Carlo Borromeo*,⁽¹⁾ *Francis of Sales*,⁽²⁾ and others, together with Cardinal *John Bona*.⁽³⁾ Nevertheless mysticism led here again to pantheism, as is evident in the case of the German mystic, *Angelus Silesius*.⁽⁴⁾ The mystic inactivity of *Michael Molinos*,⁽⁵⁾ a Spanish secular priest, formed a striking contrast to the intriguing worldliness of the Jesuits, and gave rise to the *Quietist* controversy in France.⁽⁶⁾ None but men of so pure a character as *Fénélon*,⁽⁷⁾ whose life was one of constant communion with God, could hold such a doctrine in its ideal aspect, without exposing themselves to the danger of fanaticism, the mere possibility of which horrified men of frigid intellect, such as *Bosquet*.⁽⁸⁾

(1) He was born A. D. 1538, at Arona, and died 1584, as archbishop of Milano. He was canonized 1610. Compare: * *Sailer*, der heil. Karl Borromeus. Augsb. 1823. For his writings, which are chiefly ascetical, see *ibid.* p. 146. and 225 ss. (where extracts from his homilies are given.)

(2) He was born A. D. 1567. in Savoy, and died 1622. as bishop

(in partibus) of Geneva. He was canonized 1665.—A new edition of his works appeared, Paris 1834, in sixteen voll. Introduction à la vie dévôte. A memoir of his life was published by *Marsollier*. Paris 1747. ii. 8. Comp. *Sailer* Briefe aus allen Jahrhunderten. Vol. iii. p. 127 ss.

(³) He was born A. D. 1609, at Mondori in Piedmont, entered the order of the Benedictines, was made cardinal 1669, and died 1674.—He wrote: *Via compendii ad Deum*. Col. 1671. 12.—*Manuductio ad cœlum*. Par. 1664. 12. His works appeared Par. (Antv.) 1677. and Antw. 1739. fol.

(⁴) His proper name was *Scheffler*; he was born A. D. 1624, at Breslau, joined the Roman Catholic Church 1653, and died 1677, in the monastery of the Jesuits at Breslau. He wrote: *Heilige Seelenlust—cherubinischer Wandersmann*, and others. Extracts from his works are given by *Wackernagel*, *Deutsches Lesebuch* ii. col. 427 ss.—*Varnhagen von Ense*, *Denkwürdigkeiten und vermischte Schriften* 1837. i. p. 307 ss. * *Göschel*, in den *Jahrbüchern für wissenschaftliche Kritik* 1834. N^o. 41 ss.

(⁵) He died A. D. 1696, after several years' imprisonment in Rome. On the question whether he stood in connection with the Alumbrados, see *Baumgarten Crusius*. Comp. i. p. 407. He composed a *Guida spirituale*. Rom. 1675. (It was translated into Latin by A. H. Francke. Lips. 1687. 12.) Other Spanish mystics prior to his time were: *Therese a Jesu* (she died A. D. 1582) and *Johannes a Cruce* (he died A. D. 1591, and was canonized 1726.) Comp. *Baumgarten Crusius* l. c. p. 410.

(⁶) The controversy was called forth by *Antoinette Marie Bouvières de la Mothe-Guyon* (she died A. D. 1717); see her auto-biography Col. 1720. iii., and the account of her life given by her confessor, *François la Combe*. Concerning the controversy itself, see the works on ecclesiastical history, and the biography of *Fénélon* mentioned in the following note.

(⁷) He was born A. D. 1651, and died 1715, as bishop of Cambrai. He wrote: *Explication des maximes des Saints sur la vie intérieure*. Par. 1697. Amst. 1698. 12. *Oeuvres spirituelles* Amst. 1725 v. 12. They were translated into German by *Claudius*, Hamb. 1823. iii. A very full memoir of his life (in which an account of the whole controversy is given) is contained in the work of * *Bausset*, *histoire de J. B. Bossuet*,

4 Voll. Vers. 1814. and Herder, *Adrastea*. (Werke zur Philosophie Vol. ix.) p. 43.

⁽⁸⁾ See his *Relation sur le quiétisme*. 1698.

On the different features which the mysticism of the Roman Catholic Church presents ("areopagitic, ascetic, speculative, and truly religious mysticism"), see Baumgarten *Crusius* i. p. 409.

§ 230.

LIBERAL TENDENCIES IN CRITICISM AND SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY. POINT OF TRANSITION TO THE FOLLOWING PERIOD.

Though a system of more liberal criticism was excluded by the very principle of Romanism, it would still develop itself (as regards biblical literature) more freely among Roman Catholics than among Protestants. Thus it happened that *Richard Simon* not only laid the foundation of biblical criticism,⁽¹⁾ but also contributed, by his doctrinal writings, to prepare the way for that new state of things which owed its existence to conflicts of the most heterogeneous elements. About the same time *John Baptist du Hamel*,⁽²⁾ and *Natalis Alexander*,⁽³⁾ were distinguished as theologians of a more liberal tendency, who endeavoured to throw off the yoke of scholasticism.

⁽¹⁾ He was born A. D. 1638, and died 1712. His work is entitled: *Histoire critique du vieux Test.* Rot. 1685. 4. du. N. T. 1689.

⁽²⁾ He was born A. D. 1624, officiated as priest of the oratory, and died 1706. He wrote: *Theol. speculativa et practica.* Par. 1691. Heinrich p. 382. Schröckh vii. p. 208.

⁽³⁾ He was born A. D. 1639, and died 1724; he belonged to the order of the Dominicans, and was a learned monk. He is the author of: *Theologia dogmatica et moralis.* Par. 1693. X. 8. 1699. 1703. *Dissertationes historico-ecclesiasticæ.* ii. f. Heinrich p. 384. Schröckh l. c.

IV.—THE GREEK CHURCH.

§ 231.

While the very foundations of the Roman Catholic Church were shaken by the Reformation, which, nevertheless, exerted, in some respects, a reviving and regenerating influence upon it, the Greek Church presented the mournful aspect of a ruin in the midst of the surrounding Mohammedan nations. It came into contact with Protestantism, but only externally and for a very short time.⁽¹⁾ *Cyrillus Lucaris*, patriarch of Constantinople, lost his life (A. D. 1638) in consequence of betraying a leaning towards Calvinism.⁽²⁾ Soon after (A. D. 1642), *Petrus Mogilas*, metropolitan of Kiew, together with some other Greek theologians, drew up a confession of faith for the Russians, which met with the approbation of the patriarchs of the East, and received (A. D. 1672), the sanction of the Synod of Jerusalem.⁽³⁾ Though *Leo Allatius* endeavoured to prove the agreement between the doctrines of the Greek and the Roman Churches, the former continued to maintain its independence.⁽⁴⁾

⁽¹⁾ A. D. 1559 Melancthon transmitted a Greek translation of the *Confessio Augustana* to the patriarch Joseph II., but without success. Nor did the negotiations between the patriarch Jeremias II. (1574) on the one hand, and Jac. Andreaë, and the theologians of Tübingen on the other, lead to any more favourable result. The correspondence to which they gave rise was broken off A. D. 1581. see *Schnurrer*, de actis inter Tub. Theoll. et Patriarchas Const. (Oratt. acad. ed. Paulus. Tub. 1828.)

⁽²⁾ (*Δεύκαρις*) *Ἀνατολικὴ ὁμολογία τῆς χριστιανικῆς πίστεως*. lat. Genev. 1629. Greek 1633. Latin and Greek 1645. It

is given by *Aymon*, monumens authentiques de la rel. des Grecs etc. à la Haye 1708. 4.

(3) "Ἐκθεσις τῆς τῶν Ῥωσῶν πίστεως 1642 ; afterwards under the title : Ὁρθόδοξος ὁμολογία τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνατολικῆς.

(4) His original name was Allarsi ; he died A. D. 1669. The title of his work is : de ecclesiæ occidentalis atque orientalis perpetua consensione. Col. 1648.

V. MINOR RELIGIOUS PARTIES (SECTS.)

§ 232.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

Schlüsselburg, Conrad, Catalogus hæreticorum. Francof. 1697. ss. xiii. 3.

While the Reformers were pursuing their great work, various tendencies manifested themselves in opposition to the existing Catholic Church, which we may partly regard as a continuation of that spirit of antagonism to the church which had existed in earlier times, partly as the one-sided, negative efforts of a narrow-minded criticism. Protestants could not make common cause with them without destroying their own principles. On that account, Anabaptism and Unitarianism, which had already been rejected by the Catholic Church (though under different forms), met with no better reception from Lutherans and Calvinists, and were, accordingly, stigmatised as sects. And, again, at a later period, several sects made their appearance, of which only a few, *e.g.*, the Society of Friends, prolonged their existence to the present time. On the other hand, it might happen that the rigid dogmatism of the Protestant churches called forth opposition, and compelled

the more moderate to build their chapel by the side of the church. This was the case with the Arminians (Remonstrants), who formed not so much a sect, as a section of the church.

§ 233.

A. ANABAPTISTS (MENNONITES.)

Schyn, historia christianorum, qui in Belgio fœderato Mennonitæ appellantur. Amstel. 1723. 8. *Hunzinger*, das religiöse Kirchen- und Schulwesen der Mennoniten. Speier 1831. 8.

Infant-baptism was at first opposed by unlearned enthusiasts and the promoters of revolution.⁽¹⁾ But, at a later period, about the middle of the sixteenth century, *Menno Simonis*,⁽²⁾ a native of Holland, succeeded in collecting those who held similar notions concerning baptism, and in constituting a regular denomination, which took the name of *Mennonites*, and, in the course of time, divided itself into several smaller bodies.⁽³⁾ The earliest confession of faith adopted by the Mennonites, is that drawn up by *John Ries* and *Liibbert Gerardi*, about the year 1580.⁽⁴⁾ Other confessions of faith do not enjoy such general authority among the adherents of this sect.⁽⁵⁾

⁽¹⁾ Concerning the first transactions of the prophets of Zwickau (*Nicholas Storch*, *Martin Cellarius* [Borhaus], *Mark Stübner*, and *Thomas Münzer*) and of *Carlstadt*, as well as concerning the Anabaptists of Switzerland, and the negotiations with them (*Grebel*, *Manz*, *Hochrütener*, *Hubmeier*, and others); and lastly, respecting the disturbances made by the Anabaptists of Münster (*Rottmann*, *Bockhold*, *Knipperdolling*) see the works on the history of the Reformation. Concerning their doctrines (though from the polemical point of view) see *Melancthon's* Vorlegung

etlicher unchristlicher Artikel, welche die Wiedertäufer vorgeben, in the German works of *Luther*, vol. ii. of the edition of Wittenberg p. 282 ss....*Justus Menius*, der Wiedertäufer Lehre und Geheimniss aus heil. Schrift widerlegt. *ibid.* p. 299 ss.—*Bullinger*, von der Wiedertaufe Ursprung, Secten und Wesen. Zür. 1561. 4. *Ott*, Annales anabaptistici. Bas. 1624. The remarkable mixture of (montanistic) fanaticism with narrow-minded adherence to the letter of Scripture, had already been observed by *Zuinglius*; see his works (edited by Schuler and Schulthess) ii. 1. p. 298.: “*Sometimes they insist upon taking the letter in its strict sense, and without any interpretation, sometimes they refuse to admit it altogether.*”

(²) He was born A. D. 1505, and died 1561. The *fundamental principles* of Mennonitism are: The rejection of infant-baptism, the refusal to take oaths, and to serve in the army, and lastly, the rite of washing the feet.

(³) Waterlandians and Flamingians, the more refined and the more rude. Concerning their further gradations, and the entire history of that sect and its spread, see the works on ecclesiastical history.

(⁴) It appeared under the title: *Korde Belydenisse des Geloofs*, etc. *Præcipuorum christianæ fidei articulorum brevis Confessio*. 1580. The Latin edition which is given by Schyn l. c. c. 7. p. 172 ss. consists of 40 articles.

(⁵) Comp. Schyn l. c. Köcher, *bibl. symb.* p. 467 ss. Winer p. 24. 25. Concerning their catechisms, see *ibid.*

§ 234.

B. UNITARIANS (SOCINIANS.)

Sandii, O. C., *Bibliotheca Antitrinitariorum*. Freist. (Amst.) 1684. 8. *Bock, F. S.*, *Historia Antitrinitariorum, maxime Socianismi et Socinianorum*. Regiomont. 1774-84. **Trechsel*, *die protestantischen Antitrinitarier vor Faustus Socinus*. 1. Buch: *Michael Servet und seine Vorgänger*. Heidelberg. 1839. 8.

While infant-baptism and other doctrines were opposed on practical grounds, the orthodox dogma of the

Trinity was, about the same time, attacked from the theoretical point of view, so that the history of the first Unitarians, from the period of the Reformation, appears in many respects connected with that of the Anabaptists.⁽¹⁾ Notwithstanding the violent persecutions, by means of which both Roman Catholics and Protestants endeavoured to suppress Unitarianism,⁽²⁾ and which reached their height in the execution of *Michael Servetus*⁽³⁾ a sect formed itself,⁽⁴⁾ the adherents of which maintained, that a plurality of persons in the Deity could not be proved from Scripture, though they acknowledged its Divine origin, and professed to entertain feelings of the highest esteem for the man Jesus. It was in consequence of the labours of *Laelius Socinus*,⁽⁵⁾ and still more of his nephew *Faustus Socinus*,⁽⁶⁾ that the scattered friends of those principles were united into a distinct body, and adopted the name of *Socinians*. The one-sided rationalistic tendency of Socinianism included the germs both of later Rationalism (negatively), and of external biblical Supranaturalism (positively), and thus contributed to the transition from one period to another.⁽⁷⁾ The appellation *Racovienses*, which is also applied to the Socinians, as well as the name of their catechism, *Catechismus Racoviensis*, were derived from the Polish town Racow.⁽⁸⁾ Not only the authors of that catechism, but also the following theologians, more fully developed the Socinian doctrine, viz., *Jonas Schlichting*, *J. Völkel*, *John* and *Samuel Crell*, *Christian Ostorodt*, *Valentine Schmalz*, *Lewis Wolzogen*, *Andrew Wissowatius*, and others.⁽⁹⁾

(1) "That which the Anabaptists attempted in reference to the Church and to practical religion, other theologians, of a tendency closely allied to that of the former, and largely impregnated with Anabaptistic elements, sought to accomplish in reference to theology. The latter tendency was, properly speak-

ing, only a distinct branch of the former, and a particular form and expression of the same general movement." Trechsel l. c. p. 8. Accordingly what was said, §. 232. concerning the one-sided, rationalistic system of criticism (which apparently forms a contrast to the fanaticism of the Anabaptists) has only reference to the later developement of Unitarianism by Socinus. Comp. note 7. and Trechsel p. 3. and 4. Baumgarten Crusius, Compend. i. p. 332. 33., also regards the Antitrinitarians as the speculative opposition, the Anabaptists as the practical one.

(2) Among the earlier Antitrinitarians we may mention : *Lewis Hetzer*, of Bischofszell in the Thurgau (Switzerland) ; he was executed at Constance A. D. 1529. ; *John Denck*, a native of Upper-Palatinate ; *Jacob Kautz* of Bockenheim ; *Conrad in Gassen*, a native of Wirtemberg (he was executed at Basle A. D. 1529) ; *John Campanus*, a native of Holland, who was professor in the University of Wittenberg ; *Melchior Hofmann* at Strassburg ; *Adam Pistoris* and *Rudolph Martini*, both natives of Westphalia ; *David Joris* of Bruges, an Anabaptist, and *Claudius of Savoy*. On their doctrines, concerning which they widely differed, inasmuch as some adopted the notions of Arius, others those of Sabellius, or of Paul of Samosata, compare Trechsel l. c. (Section i.), and the special history of doctrines. *John Valdez*, a native of Spain, who died A. D. 1540 at Naples, is also numbered by some writers, not only among the promoters of the Reformation, but also among the forerunners of Unitarianism ; see Sandius l. c. p. 2-6. ; on the other side comp. *C. Schmidt*, in Illgens Zeitschrift für historische Theologie. i. 4. p. 837.

(3) He was surnamed *Reves*, born A. D. 1509 or 11 at Villanueva, in the kingdom of Arragonia, accompanied the Emperor Charles V. on his expedition to Italy (1529), took up his residence in Basle 1530 (together with Oecolampadius), and wrote (1531) his work entitled : *de Trinitatis erroribus libri VII.* Afterwards he made several stays in France, etc. His trial and execution took place at Geneva A. D. 1553. Concerning the history of his life see *Mosheim*, neue Nachrichten von dem berühmten span. Arzte, Michael Serveto. Helmst. 1756. 4. and Trechsel l. c.

(4) To this sect belonged also *John Valentin Gentilis* (he was executed at Berne A. D. 1566), *Paul Aiciat* (he died at Dantzic

1565), *Matthæus Gribaldi* (his death took place 1564 in Savoy), *George Blandrata* (he lived in Polonia and Transylvania, and died 1590), and to some extent *Bernard Occhino* (he died 1564 in Moravia), *Celius Sec. Curio* (he died 1569), *Paul Vergerius* (he died 1565), and several others. From the middle of the sixteenth century Antitrinitarian principles were chiefly spread in Polonia. The Socinians formed themselves into a distinct ecclesiastical body at the Synods of Pinczow and Petrikow (1563–65.)

⁽⁵⁾ He was born at Siena A. D. 1525, and died 1562.—See *Illgen, C. F., Vita Lælii Socini.* Lips. 1814. 8. *Orelli, J. C., Lælius Socinus,* in der Basler wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift. 1824. part 3. p. 28 ss. and the requisite documents *ibid.* p. 138 ss.

⁽⁶⁾ He was born A. D. 1539, and died 1604. Comp. the memoir of his life by *Przypcovius* in *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum* (note 9.) P. i. He chiefly laboured in Polonia and Transylvania. Baumgarten Crusius justly designates Lælius Socinus “*the spiritual father of Socinianism,*” and Faustus Socinus “*the founder of the sect.*” *Compend.* i. p. 334.

⁽⁷⁾ “*We may call Socinianism the common birth-place at once of the Supranaturalism and the Rationalism of modern Protestant theology.*” *Strauss, christliche Glaubenslehre* i. p. 56.

⁽⁸⁾ The first Socinian catechism was composed by *George Schomann*, a Socinian minister in Cracow, who died A. D. 1591. It was followed by that of F. Socinus, which appeared under the title : *Christianæ religionis brevissima institutio per interrogationes et responsiones, quam catechismum vulgo vocant.* Racov. 1618. 8. (it was incomplete, inasmuch as it includes only theology and christology.) It formed the basis of the larger Socinian catechism, which was composed by *Hieronymus Moscorovius*, a Polish nobleman, who died 1625, and *Valentin Schmalz*, a Socinian minister, and published 1605. 12. in the Polish language. It was translated into Latin under the title : *Catechesis ecclesiarum, quæ in regno Polon. et magno ducatu Lithuaniae et aliis ad istud regnum pertinentibus provinciis affirmant, neminem alium præter patrem domini nostri J. C. esse illum unum Deum Israelis, hominem autem illum, Jesum Naz., qui ex virgine natus est, nec alium præter aut ante ipsum, Dei filium unigenitum et agnoscunt et confitentur.* Racov. 1609. 12.—A new edition, together with

a refutation, was published by *G. L. Oeder*, Francf. and Leips. 1739. 8. Concerning other editions, which also contain other confessions of faith adopted by the Socinians (the *Confessio fidei* drawn up by *Joh. Schlichting* 1646. 8.) comp. *Winer* p. 25. 26.

⁽⁹⁾ Their writings are collected in the *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum, quos unitarios vocant*. *Irenop.* [Amst.] 1656. 6 voll. fol. For further particulars see *Winer* p. 27.

§ 235.

C. ARMINIANS (REMONSTRANTS.)

Regenboog, *Geschichte der Remonstranten*. Transl. from the Dutch. Lemgo 1781. **Des Amorie van der Hoeven, Abr.*, het tweede Eeuwfest van het Seminarium der Remonstranten, Leeuwarden. 1830. 8.

Having been excluded from the Reformed church, on account of their more moderate views concerning predestination, the *Arminians* found themselves compelled to form a distinct religious community,⁽¹⁾ the principles of which are contained both in the Five Articles of the Remonstrants (A. D. 1610),⁽²⁾ and in the confession of faith drawn up by *Simon Episcopius*.⁽³⁾ Arminianism is characterized not only by Universalism, but also by a kind of moderate orthodoxy, which is almost imperceptibly mixed up with heterodox elements, and has reference rather to morals than to rigid dogmatism. As regards its tendency, it is, in some respects, allied to the coldness of Socinianism, but has, at the same time, preserved a sufficient amount of positive religion, to oppose the special, negative doctrines of that creed. Next to Arminius himself; and Simon Episcopius, *Hugo Grotius*,⁽⁴⁾ and *Philip a Limborch*,⁽⁵⁾ were the most distinguished of the Arminian theologians, the former by his philoso-

phico-apologetical and exegetical writings, the latter by his doctrinal works. The Arminian Church numbered also among its members many eminent men,⁽⁶⁾ who exerted a beneficial reaction upon Protestantism by their professed scientific attainments no less than by their milder principles.⁽⁷⁾

⁽¹⁾ The founder of this sect was *Arminius* (Harmsen, or Hermann.) He was born A. D. 1560 at Oudewater, taught from the year 1603 theology in the University of Leyden, and died 1609. His theological works were published Lugd. Bat. 1629. 4. On the controversy between him and his colleague, *Franciscus Gomarus*, and its consequences, see the works on ecclesiastical history.

⁽²⁾ They were presented to the States of Holland and Westfriesland under the title: *Remonstrantia, libellus supplicis exhibitus Hollandiæ et Westfrisiæ Ordinibus*; they are reprinted in *Walch*, *Religionsstreitigkeiten ausser der lutherischen Kirche*. iii. p. 540 ss.

⁽³⁾ *Simon Episcopus* (Bishop) was born A. D. 1583, and died 1643. *Confessio seu declaratio sententiæ Pastorum, qui in fœderato Belgio Remonstrantes vocantur, super præcipuis articulis rel. chr. Harderov. 1622. 4. (in Sim. Episc. Opp. ii. 2. p. 69 ss.)* It consists of 25 chapters. Concerning the different editions and translations of that confession see *Clarisse*, *Encycl. theol.* p. 443. and *Winer* p. 23.—*Episcopus* wrote his *Apologia pro confessione, etc.* 1629. (30 ?) 4. *Opp.* p. 95 ss. in reply to the *Censura in Confess. Remonstr.* (Lugd. Bat. 1626), composed by *J. Polyander*, *Andrew Rivetus*, *Anton Walæus*, and *Ant. Thysius*, all of them professors in the University of Leyden. As regards other controversial writings by the same author, comp. *Episcopii verus theologus remonstrans. ibid.* p. 208 ss. In addition *Episcopus* wrote *Institutiones theologicæ libri iv. (incomplete) Opp.* (Amst. 1650. 65. Tomi ii. fol.) Tom. i. On the catechisms composed by *John Uytenbogard* (?) and *Bartholomew Prevostius* see *Winer* l. c.

⁽⁴⁾ He was born A. D. 1583, and died 1645. To clear himself from the charge of Socinianism he wrote his *defensio fide catho-*

licæ de satisfactione Christi. 1617. 8.—de veritate rel. christ. Lugd. Bat. 1627. 12. —Opp. theol. Amst. 1679. iii. f. 1697. iv. fol. Bas. 1731. iv. f. (the first three volumes contain writings of an exegetical character.) See **Luden*, Hugo Grotius nach seinen Schicksalen und Schriften. Berlin 1806.

(⁵) He was born A. D. 1633, Professor in the Gymnasium of the Remonstrants at Amsterdam, and died 1712. His *Theologia Christiana* appeared Amst. 1686. Basileæ 1735 fol. “*The most complete exposition of the Arminian doctrine is the celebrated work by Philip of Limborch.....a man distinguished for genius, learning, and modesty, whose literary labours are of great value. The very arrangement of his system displays originality.Admirable perspicuity and judicious selection of the material characterize the entire work.*” *Stäudlin*, Geschichte der theologischen Wissenschaften. i. p. 319.

(⁶) The following were distinguished writers on dogmatic theology : *Stephen Curcellæus*, the successor of *Episcopius* ; he was born A. D. 1586, and died 1659. He composed : *Institutio rel. chr. libb. 7. in Opp. theol. Amst. 1675 f. (incomplete.)—Andr. a Cattenburgh* (he was born 1664, and died 1743.) He wrote : *Spicilegium theol. christ. Philippi a Limborch. Amst. 1726. f.—Bibl. Scriptor. remonstrantium.*

(⁷) “*The Arminian principle which renounced the authority of the symbolical books, gave such an impulse to exegetical investigations, to independent hermeneutical labours, and to the speculative treatment of theology, that in consequence of the influence exerted by the works of Episcopius and Hugo Grotius, it was introduced into the whole Evangelical Church. Thus a general desire manifested itself in the Protestant Church of Germany, to do away with the authority of the symbolical books.*” *Schleiermacher*, Kirchengeschichte p. 620.

§ 236.

D. QUAKERS.

Cræsi, H., historia Quakeriana. Amstel. 1695. ed. 2. 1703. 8. Quäkerhistorie. Berlin. *Sewel*, W., Geschichte von dem Ursprunge des christlichen Volkes, so Quaker genannt werden. *Tuke*, H., die Religionsgrundsätze, zu welchen die Gesellschaft der Quäker sich bekennt. Transl. from the English, Leipz. 1828. *Gurney*, J. J., Observations on the peculiarities of the Society of Friends, Lond. 1824. [*Penn*, Summary of the history, doctrines, and discipline of the Society of Friends. Lond. 1694. ed. 6. 1707. *Gough*, History of the people called Quakers. Dubl. 1789. 4 T *Clarkson*, F., Portraiture of Quakerism. Lond. 1806.]

The principles of the Quakers are in some points allied to those of the Anabaptists (as regards *e. g.* the relation of the internal to the external revelation, etc.) After the fire of enthusiasm kindled by *George Fox*,⁽¹⁾ the founder of this sect, had gradually subsided, the Society of Friends, under their leader, *William Penn*,⁽²⁾ obtained (A. D. 1689) the confidence of the English government. But it was especially in the United States (Pennsylvania) that this sect gained numerous adherents, though it also spread in other countries.⁽³⁾ *Robert Barclay*, a Scotchman, represented their doctrines, if we may so term them, in a scientific form, and drew up a confession of faith.⁽⁴⁾

(1) He was a shoemaker, born in the county of Leicester, held fanatical notions, and died 1691. He founded the Society of Friends (to whom the nickname Quaker was given), A. D. 1649, amidst the commotions of the English revolution.

(2) He was a son of the celebrated admiral of the same name, entertained more moderate opinions than Fox, and died A. D. 1718. See the memoirs of his life by *Marsillac*, Par. 1791. 8., transl. into German Strassb. 1793. 8. *Th. Clarkson*, memoirs of the private and public life of W. Penn. Lond. 1813. ii. 8. Penn himself wrote: *a Summary of the history, doctrine, and*

discipline of Friends. Ed. 6. Lond. 1707. 8. (transl. into German by Seebohm Pymont 1792.)

(³) Their first settlement in the United States took place A. D. 1681. From the year 1686 they enjoyed toleration in England. But it was not till the 18th century that they gained any adherents on the Continent (the community existing in Pymont was founded 1791.) See *Seebohm*, Ludw. kurze Nachr. von dem Entstehen und dem Fortgang der christlichen Gesellschaft der Freunde. Pymont 1792.

(⁴) 1. *Theologiæ vere christianæ Apologia.* Amsterdam 1676. 4^o. German translations of it appeared 1648. 1740. 8. 2. *Catechismus et fidei confessio approbata et confirmata communi consensu et consilio patriarcharum, prophetarum et apostolorum, Christo ipso inter eos præsidente et prosequente.* Rot. 1676. 8. It was originally written in English.

§ 237.

ATTEMPTS AT UNION (SYNCRETISM.)

Hering, C. W., Geschichte der Kirchlichen Unionsversuche, seit der Reformation bis auf unsere Zeit. Leipz. 1836-38. ii. [Comp. also § 218. note 2.]

Though the different religious parties were at that time strongly opposed to each other, we read, nevertheless, of attempts to effect a union between the Lutherans and Calvinists⁽¹⁾ on the one side, and between Protestants and Roman Catholics on the other.⁽²⁾ These efforts led to the adoption of more moderate views, but required great caution, inasmuch as the characteristic differences of the several denominations were sometimes lost sight of. The sects also exerted a reacting influence on the greater ecclesiastical bodies, since the mystics who still belonged to the Church agreed in essential points with the Anabaptists and Quakers;⁽³⁾ and

Arminianism, as well as Socinianism, so influenced the friends of a stiff and narrow-minded orthodoxy, as to dispose them to the adoption of less rigid principles.⁽⁴⁾

(1) As early as the time of the conflicts to which the Reformation had given rise, *Martin Bucer*, and *Philip, Landgrave of Hesse*, endeavoured to allay the spirit of dissension. [In the year 1614, the Calvinist, *David Pereus*, took steps towards the effectual establishment of such a union. His work, "Irenicon," in which he made use of the word Syncretism, may be regarded as the forerunner of the writings of Calixt on the same subject. Comp. *Jass*, in the work quoted § 218. note 2. p. 8.] Among the Lutherans it was *Calixt* who endeavoured, in the course of the 17th century, to reconcile the separated parties; and thus gave rise to what is called the Syncretistic controversy; among Calvinists, *John Duraeus*, a Scotchman, laboured from the year 1630 for the same object. The conference of Leipsic, A.D. 1631. The conference of Thorn, 1648: (Colloquium charitativum.) [The Consensus Sandomiriensis; see the "Historical Account of the Consensus Sandomiriensis, or Agreement of Sandomir, formed among the three orthodox bodies of Protestants in Poland, in the year 1570," in the *Continental Echo* for 1846. p. 84 ss. 110 ss. 139 ss.]

(2) Bossuet (see § 227. note 14.) *Rojas de Spinola* (bishop of Tina in Croatia from the year 1668, and bishop of Wienerisch Neustadt from the year 1685; he died 1695) entered into negotiations with *Molanus*, abbot of Loccum in Hanover. *Leibnitz* took part in the negotiations.

(3) Especially in the doctrines concerning internal revelation, justification, etc. (thus they contributed, at least, to modify the direct opposition to the Romish Church.)

(4) Comp. § 235. note 7.

§ 238.

INFLUENCE OF PHILOSOPHY. DEISM. APOLOGETICS.

Leland, John, a View of the principal deistical writers that have appeared in England in the last and present century. 1754. ii. voll. *Thorschmid*, Freidenkerbibliothek. Halle 1765-67. *Herder*, *Adrastea* (Werke zur Philosophie und Geschichte. ix.) * *Lechler Gotth. Vict.*, Geschichte des englischen Deismus. Stuttg. 1841.

And lastly, the religious parties, though divided on so many points, could make common cause in the contest for *Christianity* in general against a tendency which either renounced the positive authority of revelation, or threatened its essential relations. The philosophical schools of the seventeenth century not only developed their systems more independently of religion, but sometimes called forth doubts respecting its truths. Nevertheless, it was not so much this philosophy of the schools, which maintained the greatest possible distance from theology,⁽¹⁾ as a popular form of philosophy, the so-called philosophy of common sense, which opposed the existing systems of religion. Its advocates are generally known under the name of Freethinkers, Deists, or Naturalists. Aiming at practical results, and accustomed to bold and hasty judgments, they declared war against the belief in revelation adopted by all the confessions of that age,⁽²⁾ and thus compelled the apologists of the Christian Church to re-enter the lists.⁽³⁾

(1) It was *Cartesianism* alone which exerted a more direct influence upon the theology of the *present* period, and, in the first instance, only upon that of the Reformed church (see § 225. note 1.); *Malebranche*, however, introduced this philosophy also into the theology of the Romish church. *Spinoza* (born A. D. 1632,

and died 1677), a man of elevated character, was not connected with any of the existing denominations, on account of which, the theologians of his age took no notice of him. It was not till after his death that the speculative writers on Christian theology turned their attention to his system. *Locke* (he was born A. D. 1632, and died 1704) promoted the interests of Empiricism, which was first established by Francis Bacon of Verulam (he died A. D. 1626), and, in its turn, contributed to the development of Deism (though contrary to the intentions of its author.) *Leibnitz* (born 1646, and died 1716) interested himself much in theology, as may be seen from his work on Theodicy (comp. § 261. note 7.), and the part he took in the attempts at union (see § 237. note 2.) But it was not till *Wolf* remodelled his philosophy (in the following period), that it attracted the attention of theologians, and was introduced into their writings.

(^c) Concerning the vague distinction on which these appellations are founded, see Herder l. c. p. 174. 75. Lechler p. 452 ss.^a The so-called Deists widely differed among themselves in disposition, talents, and sentiments, and an equal difference may be observed in the relation in which their systems stand, both to each other and to Christianity. The Deism of England can only be explained in connection with the history of the English Reformation, and the conflicts to which it gave rise. Among its promoters, in addition to the sect of the *Seekers* and *Rationalists* (Lechler p. 61. note.) we may mention the following writers: *Herbert of Cherbury* (he died 1648), *Thomas Hobbes* (he died 1679 in old age), *Charles Blount* (he died 1693), *John Toland* (he died 1722), *Anthony Collins* (he died 1729), *Anthony Ashley Cooper* (Earl of *Shaftesbury*, he died 1713), *Thomas Woolston* (he died 1733), *Matthew Tindal* (he died 1733), *Thomas Chubb* (an illiterate person, a glover and chandler, died 1747), and several others who lived in the following period. In France, *Jean Bodin* (died 1596), *Michael de Montaigne* (he died 1592), and *Pierre Charron* (he died 1603), manifested a sceptical tendency; in later times, *Pierre Bayle* (died 1706) prepared the way for French Naturalism (concerning him see *Feuerbach, L.*, *Pierre Bayle*, Anspach 1838.) In Germany, *Matthias Knutsen* (who

^a The term "Deism," in particular, is not to be confounded with the same term as used by philosophers in distinction from Theism.

lived about the year 1674) founded the sect of the "Gewissener" (conscientiarii.)⁽³⁾ *Grotius* composed his apologetical work (§ 235. note 4.) without reference to Deism. *Robert Boyle* (1638) founded a college for the special purpose of opposing the English Deists. Among the English apologists, the most distinguished were *Richard Baxter* (he died 1691), *William Sherlock* (he died 1707), and others. On their polemical writings, in refutation of the Deists, see *Lechler* l. c. Among the French apologists we may mention *Pascal* (see § 228. note 6.), and *Abbadie*, a member of the Reformed church (he died 1727.) He wrote: *Traité de la vérité de la religion chrétienne.* Roterd. 1684.

§ 239.

DIVISION OF THE MATERIAL.

To facilitate the survey of the history of doctrines during the present period, it will be necessary to begin, in the special part of it, with those doctrines which best represent the doctrinal differences between the two greater ecclesiastical bodies, *i. e.*, *the opposition between Roman Catholics and Protestants*,⁽¹⁾ and then to pass over to those in which these sections of the church were more or less agreed (in contrast with the minor sects), and where the antithesis between *Romanism* and *Protestantism* either becomes of minor importance, or entirely disappears. To the first class belong the doctrines concerning the sources of religious knowledge (which may be said to constitute the *formal* principle of Romanism and Protestantism), the doctrines of the state of man, of sin, of justification, and of redemption (which may be called the *material* principle), and lastly, those doctrines which most clearly display the consequences of either principle, *viz.*, the doctrines of the church,⁽²⁾ of the sacraments (with the exception of baptism), and of purgatory

(which forms a part of eschatology.) To the second class belong theology proper, and christology, the doctrine of baptism and eschatology (with the exception of purgatory.)

(1) It ought not to be forgotten, that the difference between Lutherans and Calvinists is not so great as that between Protestants and Roman Catholics, and is of importance only in reference to the doctrines of the Lord's Supper, and of predestination. We shall, at the same time, consider the different views of the minor religious parties, such as Socinians, Quakers, and others.

(2) The doctrine concerning the church belongs, in a certain aspect, to the controverted doctrines, especially in the Roman Catholic point of view; see the treatise of Baur in answer to Möhler's Symbolick p. 60 ss. But the views which Protestants entertained concerning the church, followed rather from their other notions.

**B. SPECIAL HISTORY OF DOCTRINES DURING
THE FOURTH PERIOD.**

FIRST CLASS.

**THE CHARACTERISTIC DOCTRINES OF ROMANISM
AND PROTESTANTISM.**

(INCLUSIVE OF THE OPPOSITION BETWEEN LUTHERANS AND
CALVINISTS, AND WITH REFERENCE TO MINOR RELIGIOUS
PARTIES AND SECTS.)

FIRST SECTION.

**THE DOCTRINES CONCERNING THE SOURCES
OF KNOWLEDGE.**

FORMAL PRINCIPLE.

§ 240.

ROMANISM AND PROTESTANTISM.

From the commencement of the Reformation it became evident, on several occasions, that its adherents proceeded upon another principle of knowledge than Roman

Catholics. For while the advocates of the Romish Church still appealed to the authority of tradition, the Protestants refused to yield to any arguments but those drawn from Scripture.⁽¹⁾ This primitive difference was prominently brought forward in the symbolical books in general, and in those of the Reformed Church in particular.⁽²⁾ It may be specified in the following four particulars: 1. While the Protestant Church asserts that the sacred writings of the Old and New Testament are the only safe source of religious knowledge, and constitute the sole norm of faith,⁽³⁾ the Roman Catholic Church assumes the existence of another source together with the first, viz., tradition.⁽⁴⁾ 2. According to Protestants, the Holy Bible is composed only of the canonical writings of the Old and New Testament,⁽⁵⁾ while Roman Catholics also ascribe canonical authority to the Apocrypha of the Old Testament.⁽⁶⁾ 3. The Roman Catholic Church claims the sole right of interpreting Scripture,⁽⁷⁾ while the Protestant Church concedes this right, in a limited sense, to every one who possesses the requisite gifts and attainments, but in a more comprehensive sense to every Christian who seeks after salvation; she proceeds upon the principle, that Scripture is its own interpreter, according to the *analogia fidei*.⁽⁸⁾ With this is connected, in the *fourth* place, the assumption of the Roman Catholic Church, that the Vulgate version, which she had sanctioned, is of all the only authentic one, and thus of almost equal importance with the original,⁽⁹⁾ while Protestants regard the original only as authentic.⁽¹⁰⁾

(1) Thus, at the conference between Luther and Cajetan, at the disputation of Leipsic, at the diet of Worms, etc. Zuinglius did the same at the disputation of Zurich, as well as in his writings, *e. g.*, von der Klarheit und Gwüsse des göttlichen Worts (deutsche Werke vol. i.) Calvin, Institut. i. c. 6 ss.

(2) The Lutheran symbols do not contain any separate article de Sacra Scriptura, but occasionally oppose tradition. Comp. Confess. August. p. 13. 28 ss. Apolog. p. 205 ss. Articles of Schmalk. p. 337 [?] The Form. Concord. is more definite, p. 570. On the contrary, the symbols of the Reformed church, for the most part, commence with the article de Sacra Scriptura, or have it somewhere else. The only exception is the first Confession of Basle, which, nevertheless, concludes with a submission of all its articles to the authority of Scripture. Compare note 3.

(3) Articles of Schmalkald, l. c. : Regulam autem aliam habemus, ut videlicet *verbum Dei* condat articulos fidei et præterea nemo, ne angelus quidem. Form. Conc. l. c. : Credimus...unicam regulam et normam, secundum quam omnia dogmata omnesque doctores æstimari et judicari oporteat, nullam omnino aliam esse, quam prophetica et apostolica scripta cum V. tum N. T. Reliqua vero sive patrum sive neotericorum scripta, quocunque veniant nomine, sacris litteris nequaquam sunt æquiparanda. Comp. sol. decl. p. 632.—Conf. Helv. 1. (Bas. ii.) : Scriptura canonica, verbum Dei, Spiritu S. tradita, *omnium perfectissima et antiquissima Philosophia*, pietatem omnem, omnem vitæ rationem, sola perfecte continet.—Conf. Helv. ii. 1 : In Scriptura sancta habet universalis Christiana ecclesia plenissime exposita, quæcunque pertinent cum ad salvificam fidem tum ad vitam Deo placentem recte informandam....Sentimus ergo ex hisce scripturis petendam esse veram sapientiam et pietatem, ecclesiarum quoque reformationem et gubernationem omniumque officiorum pietatis institutionem, probationem denique dogmatum reprobationemque aut errorum confutationem omnium, sed admonitiones omnes. Cap. 2 : Non alium sustinemus in causa fidei judicem, quam ipsum Deum per Script. S. pronunciantem, quid verum sit, quid falsum, quid sequendum sit, quidve fugiendum.—Repudiamus traditiones humanas, quæ tametsi insigniantur speciosis titulis, quasi divinæ apostolicæque sint, viva voce apostolorum et ceu per manus virorum apostolicorum succedentibus episcopis ecclesiæ traditæ, compositæ tamen cum scripturis ab his discrepant, discrepantiaque illa sua ostendunt, se minime esse apostolicas. Sicut enim Apostoli inter se diversa non docuerunt, ita et apostolici non contraria apostolis ediderunt. Quinimo impium esset asseverare, apostolos vive voce contraria scriptis suis tradidisse. Comp.

Conf. Gall. Art. 5. Belg. 7. Angl. 6. Scot. 18. etc., quoted by Winer p. 30. 31. The Remonstrants and Socinians agreed with the Protestants in this general formal principle. See Conf. Remonstr. i. 10 ss. i. 13. Cat. Racov. Qu. 31 and 33. quoted by Winer p. 31. 32. Concerning the sense in which Protestants take *tradition*, see *ibid.* p. 33.^a That the same importance should afterwards be assigned to the symbolical writings of the Protestant Churches, which was formerly ascribed to tradition (Form. Cons. Helv. 26), was not the intention of their original authors; see the conclusion of the first Confession of Basle: “And lastly, we submit this our confession to the authority of Holy Writ, and are willing to render grateful obedience to God and his Holy Word, whenever we shall be better instructed therefrom.” Comp. Confess. Helv. ii. and Confess. Scot. at the close of the preface.

(4) Conc. Trid. sess. 4. (de canon. scripturis): Synodus..... hoc sibi perpetuo ante oculos proponens, ut sublatis erroribus puritas ipsa evangelii in ecclesia conservetur.....perspiciensque veritatem et disciplinam contineri in libris scriptis *et sine scripto traditionibus*, quæ ex ipsius Christi ore ab apostolis acceptæ, aut ab ipsis apostolis, *Spiritu Sancto dictante, quasi per manus traditæ*, ad nos usque pervenerunt: orthodoxorum patrum exempla secuta, omnes libros tam V. quam N. T. cum utriusque unus Deus sit auctor, *nec non traditiones ipsas*, tum ad fidem, tum ad mores pertinentes, tanquam vel ore tenus a Christo, vel a Spiritu Sancto dictatas et continua successione in ecclesia catholica conservatas, pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia suscipit et veneratur.... Si quis autem.....traditiones prædictas sciens et prudens contemserit, anathema sit. Comp. Cat. Rom. præf. 12. and on the nature of tradition see the passages from Bellar-

^a In reference to *external rites* (which are transmitted to us by tradition) the Conf. Angl. says, Art. 34.: Traditiones atque ceremonias easdem, non omnino necessarium est esse ubique, aut prorsus consimiles. Nam ut variæ semper fuerunt, et mutari possunt, pro regionum, temporum et morum diversitate, *modo nihil contra verbum Dei instituantur*. Traditiones et ceremonias ecclesiasticas, *quæ cum verbo Dei non pugnant*, et sunt auctoritate publica institutæ atque probatæ, quisquis privato consilio volens, et data opera, publice violaverit, is, ut qui peccat in publicum ordinem ecclesiæ, quiq; lædit auctoritatem magistratus, et qui infirmorum fratrum conscientias vulnerat, publice, ut cæteri timeant, arguendus est. Quælibet ecclesia particularis, sive nationalis, auctoritatem habet instituendi, mutandi, aut abrogandi ceremonias, aut ritus ecclesiasticos, *humana tantum auctoritate institutos*, modo omnia ad ædificationem fiant.

min de verbo Dei iv. 3. quoted by Winer p. 30. and 31. *Canoni loci theolog.* 3. The doctrine of the Greek Church is similar, Confess. orthod. p. 18. : *φανερὸν πῶς τὰ ἄρθρα τῆς πίστεως ἔχουσι τὸ κῦρος καὶ τὴν δοκιμασίαν, μέρος ἀπὸ τὴν ἁγίαν γραφὴν, μέρος ἀπὸ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν παράδοσιν.*

(⁵) Comp. note 3. : *quam prophetica et apostolica scripta cum V. tum N. T.*—The Apocrypha are more distinctly rejected in the symbols of the Reformed Churches, as well as in those of the Arminians, Mennonites, and Socinians. Confess. Helv. ii. 1. Gall. 3. 4. Confess. Belg. 6. Confess. Remonstr. i. 6. Winer p. 41. Some confessions of faith even contain lists of the canonical writings, *e. g.*, Conf. Angl. 6. Belg. Art. 4. (But the free examination of the canon was thus prevented or limited.)

(⁶) Conc. Trid. iv. Decret. 1.—Respecting the reasons by which the Roman Catholic Church may have been induced to ascribe so much importance to the Apocrypha (which indeed contained proofs of some of its doctrines, but with which it could dispense in consequence of the authority ascribed to tradition), see Marheinecke, *Symb.* vol. ii. p. 234 ss. Winer p. 41.

(⁷) Conc. Trid. sess. 4. decret. de edit. et usu S. S. : *Ad coercenda petulantia ingenia decernit (Synodus) ut nemo suæ prudentiæ innixus, in rebus fidei et morum ad ædificationem doctrinæ christianæ pertinentium, sacram scripturam ad suos sensus contorquens contra eum sensum, quem tenuit et tenet sancta mater ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione Scripturarum Sanctarum, aut etiam contra unanimem consensum patrum ipsam scripturam sacram interpretari audeat, etiamsi hujusmodi interpretationes nullo unquam tempore in lucem edendæ forent. Qui contravenerint, per ordinarios declarentur et pœnis a jure statutis puniantur.* The comment to it is given by Bellarmin, *de verbo Dei* iii. 3. The principal question is, where this spirit is to be found, to which he of course replies, in the church. When differences arise (which were foreseen by God), there must be some authority to decide. But this can be neither the Sacred Scriptures, nor a revelation made to an individual, nor secular power. Accordingly, no other authority remains than the princeps ecclesiasticus, *i. e.*, the pope either alone, or in connection with the bishops. Scripture, like a law, admits of several interpretations. In every well arranged state the power of

legislation and the power of jurisdiction are two different things. The law commands, the judge interprets the law, therefore Scripture cannot be its own interpreter. But neither pope nor council interpret arbitrarily, but according to Divine inspiration. Comp. *J. Gretseri tractat. : unde scis, hunc vel illum esse sincerum et legitimum scripturæ sensum.*—*Cani loci theolog. lib. iv. Becani manuale i. 5.*—The Greeks agree with the Roman Catholics as regards the general principle of the authority of the church, but limit it to the œcumenical councils. See the passages in Winer p. 35. 36. Klausen, *Hermeneutik* p. 286 ss.

(⁸) As early as the time in which the various disputations with the Roman Catholics took place, the Reformers claimed the right of free interpretation of Scripture, *i. e.*, an interpretation independent of the councils. Comp. Zuinglius, *von der Klarheit des Wortes Gottes* (deutsche Schriften i. p. 76 ss.) Calvin, *Instit. i. 7. 8.* Here again the symbols of the Reformed Churches express themselves in more definite language than those of the Lutheran Church (Winer l. c.) *Confess. Helv. i. (ii. Confess. of Basle) Art. 2. : Scripturæ Sacræ interpretatio ex ipsa sola petenda est, ut ipsa interpres sit sui, caritatis fideique regula moderante.*—*Conf. helv. ii. c. 2. : Scripturas sanctas dixit Ap. Petrus (2. Petr. i. 20.) non esse interpretationis privatae. Proinde non probamus interpretationes quaslibet : unde nec pro vera aut genuina scripturarum interpretatione agnoscimus eum, quem vocant sensum romanæ ecclesiæ, quem scilicet simpliciter romanæ ecclesiæ defensores omnibus obtrudere contendunt recipiendum. Sed illam duntaxat scripturarum interpretationem pro orthodoxa et genuina agnoscimus, quæ ex ipsis est petita scripturis (ex ingenio utique *ejus lingue, in qua sunt scriptæ*, secundum circumstantias item *expensæ et pro ratione locorum vel similium vel dissimilium plurium quoque et clariorum expositæ*) cum regula fidei et caritatis congruit et ad gloriam Dei hominumque salutem eximie facit.* Comp. Scot. 18. *Conf. Remonstr. i. 14.* The *Socinians* distinctly established the same principle in perfect accordance with the orthodox Protestants. *Cat. Racov. qu. 36 : Etsi difficultates quædam in S. S. occurrunt, tamen multa alia, tum ea, quæ sunt ad salutem necessaria, ita perspicue aliis in locis S. S. sunt tradita, ut ab unoquoque, maxime vero pietatis ac veritatis studioso et divinam opem implorante, possint intelligi.*

It is also to be observed, that the Protestants fully perceived the distinction, on the one hand, between scientific interpretation and general understanding, and, on the other, between such a general understanding and the *more profound insight* into the meaning of Scripture, which is granted to none but the regenerate. Comp. the extracts from Luther's works given by Walch ix. p. 857. "*Analogia fidei and the aid of the Holy Spirit were acknowledged as the guides in interpreting Scripture.*" Winer p. 37.

(9) Conc. Trid. sess 4. : Synodus, considerans non parum utilitatis accedere posse ecclesiæ Dei, si ex omnibus latinis editionibus, quæ circumferuntur, sacrorum librorum, quænam pro authentica habenda sit, innotescat, statuit et declarat, ut hæc ipsa vetus et vulgata editio, quæ longo tot sæculorum usu in ipsa ecclesia probata est, in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, prædicationibus et expositionibus pro *authentica* habeatur et ut nemo eam rejicere quovis prætextu audeat vel præsumat. Respecting the meaning of the passage see Winer p. 39. and the passages quoted by him from Bellarmin, and the doctrinal writers of the Roman Catholic Church ; Schröckh, Kirchengeschichte seit der Reformation IV. p. 132 ss. Marheinecke Symb. ii. p. 241 ss.—This canon shows, that its authors not only ascribed little importance to the original, but were also opposed to translations into modern languages (inasmuch as even the texts of sermons are to be selected from the Vulgate), and also to their circulation among the laity. Comp. Winer p. 40.

(10) The Confess. Helv. ii. 2. has a reference to the original (comp. note 7.) In accordance with their principles of interpretation, the Protestants asserted that a more precise scientific study of the Sacred Scriptures is impossible, without the knowledge of the original languages ; accordingly *exegesis*, which is founded upon solid philological studies, among Protestants forms the basis of the study of theology. On the other hand, they determined that a faithful version was sufficient for practical purposes. But it never occurred to them to select among these translations *one* (e. g. that of Luther) as the only authentic one, though many have, to the present day, hesitated to enlighten the people on the differences sometimes existing between the translation and the original.

§ 241.

DISSIMILAR VIEWS ENTERTAINED BY SOME SECTS.

A. THE MYSTICAL PRINCIPLE.

It was not only in opposition to Roman Catholics, but also to *Schwenkfeld*,⁽¹⁾ and the *earlier Anabaptists*,⁽²⁾ that the Protestants maintained the authority of Scripture. On the contrary, the *Quakers*,⁽³⁾ as well as the followers of *Labadie*,⁽⁴⁾ and others, agreed with Schwenkfeld and the Anabaptists in attaching great importance to internal revelation, by which the external revelation is rendered intelligible, and from which it receives its authority. From the negative point of view, these sects supposed, like the Roman Catholics, the existence of another authority *in addition* to that of Scripture, or rather *above* it; positively, they differed more widely from Romanism than did Protestants, by rejecting every objective authority, and appealing to nothing but subjective experience, mere internal feeling. Thus the Protestant doctrine of the authority of Scripture occupies an intermediate position between ecclesiastico-objective Romanism, and mystico-subjective Separatism.⁽⁵⁾

(1) He wrote: *De cursu verbi Dei*. edit. J. Oecolampadius, Bas. 1527. Schwenkfeld maintained in this work, that faith does not proceed from external things, such as the external revelation, or hearing, but from the internal revelation which must be antecedent to the ministration of the external. Abraham believed without sermon and without hearing. The letter is only the vessel of the Spirit: they should not be confounded with each other. See Planck v. i. p. 102 ss.

(2) Planck i. p. 44.—It is well known that they appealed to special revelations which were denied by the reformers. Comp. Calvin Inst. i. 9., where the passage appealed to by the enthusi-

asts (2 Cor. iii. 6.) is explained. The more considerate Mennonites of later times returned to Scripture.

(3) Barclaii Apol. thes. 2 : Divinæ revelationes internæ, quas ad fundendam veram fidem absolute necessarias esse adstruimus, externo scripturarum testimonio aut sanæ rationi ut nec contradicunt, ita nec unquam contradicere possunt. Non tamen inde sequitur, quod hæ revelationes divinæ ad externum scripturarum testimonium aut etiam ad rationem naturalem seu humanam,^a tamquam ad nobiliorem aut certiolem normam et amussim, examinari debeant. Nam divina revelatio et illuminatio interna est quiddam per se evidens et clarum, intellectum bene dispositum propria evidentia et claritate cogens ad assentiendum atque insuperabiliter movens et flectens non minus, quam principia communia veritatum naturalium (cujusmodi sunt: totum est majus sua parte; duo contradictoria non possunt esse simul vera aut falsa) movent flectuntque animum ad assensum naturalem. Comp. his Comment. in thesin, quoted by Winer p. 53. On the principle of interpretation, see Apol. x. 19. p. 198. : Quidquid homo sua industria in linguis et eruditione in scripturis invenire potest, totum nihil est sine spiritu, absque quo nihil certum, semper fallibile judicatum est. Sed vir rusticus, hujusque eruditionis ignarus, qui ne vel elementum norit, quando scripturam lectam audit, eodem spiritu hoc esse verum dicere potest, et eodem spiritu intelligere, et si necesse sit, interpretari potest.—iii. 4. p. 44 : . . . Nullus adeo illitteratus, surdus aut tam remoto loco positus est, quem non attingat et recte instruat; cujus etiam spiritus evidentia et revelatio ea sola est, qua difficultatibus illis, quæ de scripturis occurrunt, liberamur.

(4) Though the Sacred Scriptures contain truth, they are not themselves the truth, but God and Jesus Christ are that truth. Properly speaking, the Bible itself does not give eternal life, but God, who is life, works it in us. . . . We are to believe the mouth, *i. e.* the Holy Spirit, who still speaks to us, rather than the pen of the writers whom he has employed. Divine truth is infinite, nor can it be restricted to any one letter; therefore there may be many truths which are divine truths, without being strictly

^a His principle is therefore not to be confounded with that of the Rationalists! Barclay places the internal revelation alike above reason and Scripture (mystical supernaturalism.)

contained in Scripture, and which to reject merely because they are not found in Scripture, would be sinful. We are not to believe a doctrine because it is *written*, but because it *comes from God*. (Inasmuch as such views are opposed to the slavish adherence to the letter in later times, they are worthy of notice.) See Arnold, Kirchen- und Ketzehistorie Vol. ii. p. 687. (Frankf. edit. 1700.)

(5) In common with the Roman Catholic Church, but in opposition to the principle adopted by the Quakers, Protestants assert the necessity of having something *positive*, which is objectively *given*, but find it in Scripture alone, and not in the authority of the church. In common with the Quakers, and in opposition to Roman Catholics, they reject the said authority, the acatholic element. Thus the Quakers will regard the historico-positive tendency of Protestantism as a catholic element, while Roman Catholics will charge that principle with fomenting divisions, because of its internal and subjective tendency.

§ 242.

B. THE RATIONALISTIC PRINCIPLE. (SOCINIANS.)

Protestants not only rejected the mystical notions mentioned § 241, but also the rationalistic principle according to which the authority of Scripture is subordinate to that of reason, and its interpretation made to depend on the so-called truths of reason.⁽¹⁾ A similar doctrine was propounded by the Socinians, who acknowledged the necessity of an external revelation,⁽²⁾ and of the authority of the Bible, though, in the first instance, only of the New Testament,⁽³⁾ but proceeding upon the fundamental principle, that Scripture cannot contain anything that is either incomprehensible, or contrary to reason (*i. e.*, to the reason of Socinians),⁽⁴⁾ were, in many cases, induced to adopt the most arbitrary interpretations.⁽⁵⁾

(1) The manner in which Luther several times expressed himself concerning reason, shows that he undervalued it, and considered it blind in spiritual things.

(2) Faustus Socinus went so far as to assert the impossibility of a mere religion of reason without any higher revelation. Opp. ii. p. 454. a. : Homo ipse per se nec se ipsum nec Deum ejusque voluntatem cognoscere potest, sed necesse est, ut hæc illi Deus aliqua ratione patefaciat. Comp. prælectt. theol. c. 2. *Ostorodt* Unterr. p. 10 : Men, however, do not derive their knowledge of God, or of Divine things, either from nature, or from the contemplation of the works of creation, but from tradition, since God has from the beginning revealed himself to them. Those who have not at all heard of him, are not likely to have any one opinion of any Deity. The later Socinians more or less departed from these strictly supernatural notions.^a

(3) Respecting the views which Socinus and his followers took of the Sacred Scriptures, see the preceding §§. The Socinians, however, only received the New Test. as canonical, see Catech. Racov. p. 1. and Socinus de auctor. S. S. c. 1. p. 271. quoted by Winer p. 32. 33. In their opinion the Old Test. has only a historical value, but its dogmatico religious importance is not greater than that which the other Protestants ascribe to the Apocrypha. It is *useful*, but not *necessary*, to read it.

(4) *Schlichting*, diss. de Trin. p. 70. : Mysteria divina non idcirco mysteria dicuntur, quod etiam revelata omnem nostrum intellectum captumve transcendunt, sed quod nonnisi ex revelatione div. cognosci possunt. Comp. *Zerrenner*, C., neuer Versuch zur Bestimmung der dogmatischen Grundlehren von Offenbarung und heil. Schrift; nach den socin. Unitariern. Jena 1820. 8. Winer p. 39.

(5) Compare below the §§. on Christology. As the Protestant doctrine of the Scriptures occupies an intermediate position between the Roman Catholic principle and that of the Quakers (§. 241. note 5.), so it holds the medium between Quakerism and Socinianism, *i. e.*, between a purely *internal* Supernaturalism of

^a "The idea of revelation is not at all defined in the symbolical books, and the earlier theologians were either wholly silent on the subject, or gave very indistinct definitions concerning it." De Wette, Dogmatik p. 32. It was again discussed in the controversy with the Deists.

the heart, and a purely *external* Supernaturalism of reason. The principle of the Protestants is such as to induce them to combine depth with provision, warmth with coldness. It must, however, be admitted that this principle has not yet been always carried out to perfection.

§ 243.

THE FURTHER DEVELOPEMENT OF THE DOCTRINE CONCERNING HOLY WRIT.

INSPIRATION AND INTERPRETATION.

Though the Reformers humbly submitted their judgment to the authority of Scripture as a divine revelation, they considered also the share which man had in its composition, and taking a more comprehensive view of inspiration, looked at it especially in its practical bearings.⁽¹⁾ But the Protestant theologians of later times frequently manifested such a narrow-minded adherence to the letter of Scripture, that, by their opposition to the less rigid views of Arminians,⁽²⁾ and Socinians,⁽³⁾ they were induced to hazard the most daring assertions.⁽⁴⁾ The orthodox divines also developed the formal aspect of the locus de Scriptura,⁽⁵⁾ while the mystics sought to remind men of that saying of Holy Writ, "the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life."⁽⁶⁾ *Spener*, in particular, endeavoured to revive the Protestant principle of Scripture in its practical bearings, and thus to reconcile the spirit with the letter, in the sense of true Protestantism.⁽⁷⁾ The Roman Catholics, in general, retained inspiration, but the views of the Jansenists on this point were stricter than those of the Jesuits.⁽⁸⁾ As regards the interpretation of Scripture, theologians of all denominations employed (consciously or unconsciously) the allegorical

system, together with the grammatico-historical ; but even the latter frequently bore the impression of the doctrinal views entertained by the teachers of the church.⁽⁹⁾ While *Coccejus* taught that every passage of Scripture was pregnant with its peculiar meanings, the example of the Arminians and Socinians, who adopted a kind of literal interpretation,⁽¹⁰⁾ was followed by others.⁽¹¹⁾ Even that principle of the Socinians, according to which revelation cannot contradict reason, was approved of by some, especially towards the close of the present period.⁽¹²⁾

⁽¹⁾ See, *e. g.*, the preface of Luther to his translation of the New Test.—Compare also his opinion respecting the relation in which the gospels stand to each other, the Epistle of James (*Epistola straminea*), the Book of Revelation, etc. At the same time we meet with expressions in which he manifests the profoundest reverence for Scripture, and shows that he had the liveliest perception of the blessing which attends its perusal, and of that peculiar excellence which distinguishes it from all human writings.....“ To sum up all, the Holy Bible is the most excellent and best book of God, full of comfort in all temptations ; concerning faith, hope, and love, it teaches very different things from those which reason can see and feel, comprehend, and experience, and in adversities it teaches how Christian virtues are to shine forth, and that there is another and eternal life *beyond* this poor and miserable one.” Tischreden (Francf. 1576.) fol. 1. *Zwinglius* also judged of Scripture without preconceived notions, and considered the principal proof of its Divine origin to consist in the practical effects which it produces.....“ Take some good and strong wine ! he who is in good health enjoys it, for it renders him merry, strengthens him, and warms his blood ; but he who is suffering from pestilence or from fever will not even taste it, and still less drink it, and he wonders how persons in health may drink it. But that is not on account of the wine, but on account of his disease. In the same manner the Word of God is perfect in itself, and revealed for the welfare of man ; but he who neither loves it, nor understands it, nor will receive it, is sick.

Thus much in reply to those who daringly assert, that God does not mean his Word to be understood, as if he desired to exclude us from its light." (Deutsche Schriften i. p. 68.)—*Calvin* also expressed himself in similar terms, Institut. i. 8. though he thought a difference of form and style quite consistent with the Divine origin of Scripture : *Lege Demosthenem, aut Ciceronem, lege Platonem, Aristotelem, aut alios quosvis ex illa cohorte : mirum in modum, fateor, te allicient, oblectabunt, movebunt, rapiunt : verum inde si ad sacram istam lectionem te conferas, velis nolis ita vivide te afficiet, ita cor tuum penetrabit, ita medullis insidebit, ut præ istius sensus efficacia, vis illa rhetorum ac philosophorum prope evanescat, ut promptum sit perspicere, divinum quiddam spirare sacras scripturas, quæ omnes humanæ industriæ dotes ac gratias tanto intervallo superent. Fateor quidem Prophetis nonnullis elegans et nitidum, imo etiam splendidum esse dicendi genus, ut profanis scriptoribus non cedat facundia ac talibus exemplis voluit ostendere Spir. S. non sibi defuisse eloquentiam, dum rudi et crasso stilo alibi usus est.* As instances he adduces *David* and *Isaiah* on the one hand, *Amos*, *Jeremiah*, and *Zechariah* (quorum asperior sermo rusticitatem sapit) on the other.

(²) *Limborch. Theol. christ. i. 4. 10. : De inspiratione Script. S. concludimus hinc, libros hosce a viris divinis scriptos, qui non tantum non errarunt, sed et, quia spiritu Dei regebantur, in tradenda voluntate divina errare non potuerunt ; qui sicut non propria voluntate, sed instinctu Spiritus S. ad scribendum se accinxerunt (2 Petr. i. 21.) ita etiam in scribendo a Spir. S. directi fuerunt (2 Tim. iii. 6.), adeo ut errorem nullum committere potuerint, nec in sensu ipso exprimendo, nec in verbis sensum continentibus divinum conscribendis aut dictandis. Si quædam non exacte definiverint, fuere ea non res fidei aut præcepta morum, sed rerum majorum parvæ circumstantiæ, ad fidem fulciendam nullum habentes momentum, circa quas tamen non errarunt aut memoria lapsi sunt, solummodo eas, quia necesse non erat, accurate et præcise non determinarunt.*—*Grotius*, indeed, had made much bolder assertions, *Votum pro pace ecclesiastica (de canonicis scripturis). Opp. theol. Amst. 1679. T. iii. p. 672. :—Non omnes libros, qui sunt in hebræo Canone, dictatos a Spir. S.—Scriptos esse cum pio animi motu non nego.....sed a Spiritu*

Sancto *dictari* historias nihil fuit opus.....Vox quoque Spiritus Sancti ambigua est, nam aut significat.....afflatum divinum, qualem habuere tum Prophetæ ordinarii, tum interdum David et Daniel, aut significat *pium motum*, sive facultatem impellentem ad loquendum salutaria vivendi præcepta, vel res politicas et civiles etc. (compare the subsequent chapters on different readings, etc.) *Episcopi* also passed his judgment with much freedom on the canon, Institutt. iv. l. 4. : In hoc volumine continentur varii libelli, non qui singuli singulas religionis christianæ particulas in se habent, et conjuncti totam religionem christianam complectuntur ac constituunt, seu veluti partes essentielles totum, adeo ut si unus tantum deficeret aut deesset, religio Christi tota destruenda et plane desitura aut defutura esset ; seu veluti partes integrales, ita ut librorum istorum uno aut pluribus deficientibus, religio Christi mutila et trunca esset futura. Nihil minus : plures enim sunt libelli, qui nihil continent, quod non in aliis et sæpius et luculentius reperitur ; et sunt qui nihil ad religionem christianam magnopere faciens continent. Denique certum est, libellos hos in codicem seu volumen unum digestos fuisse non divino jussu aut impulsu, sed consilio studioque humano, licet sancto pioque etc.—He laid great stress upon the fides humana, viz., that the Sacred penmen both would and could speak truth, etc. Comp. c. 2.

(³) Faustus Socinus, de auctoritate Scripturæ. Racov. 1611. (Opp. i. p. 265.) His mode of argumentation is nearly the same as that of the Arminians.

(⁴) This rigid adherence to the very letter of Scripture (Grammatolatry) manifested itself especially in the Formula, Cons. 1. : Deus T. O. M. verbum suum, quod est potentia ad salutem omni credenti (Rom. i. 16.) non tantum per Mosen, Prophetas et Apostolos scripto mandari curavit, sed etiam pro eo scripto paterne vigilavit hactenus et excubavit,^a ne Satanæ astu vel fraude ulla humana vitari posset. Proinde merito singulari ejus gratiæ et bonitati Ecclesia acceptum refert, quod habet habebitque ad finem mundi sermonem propheticum firmissimum ; nec non *ιερά γράμματα*, sacras litteras, ex quibus, pereunte cælo et terra, ne apex quidem, vel iota unicum peribit (2 Petr. v. 19. 2 Tim. iii.

^a How much this mere *watching* and *guarding* of a dead treasure is in accordance with their lifeless notions of God, and the relation in which he stands to the world, is evident.

15. Matth. v. 18.) 2. In specie autem hebraïcus V. T. codex, quem et traditione Ecclesiæ judaïcæ, cui olim oracula Dei commissæ sunt (Rom. iii. 2.) accepimus hodieque retinemus, *tum quoad consonas, tum quoad vocalia sive puncta ipsa sive punctorum saltem potestatem, et tum quoad res, tum quoad verba θεόπνευστος*, ut fidei et vitæ nostræ, una cum Codice N. T. sit Canon unicus et illibatus, ad cuius normam, ceu Lydium lapidem universæ, quæ extant, versiones, sive orientales, sive occidentales exigendæ, et sicubi deflectunt, revocandæ sunt. The Lutheran theologians also maintained that the Hebrew vowel points were original. Joh. Gerh. loc. theol. i. c. 14. 15. Quenst. i. 272 ss. and Hollaz. Prol. iii. Quæst. xliii. and others. The controversies respecting the purity of the Greek of the New Test. belong to the same class; see Winer, Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms, Einleitung.

(⁵) Thus the idea of *inspiration* was more precisely defined and frequently identified with revelation (see De Wette, Dogmatik p. 39.) Comp. Gerhard, Loci i. c. 12. §. 12.: *Causa efficiens Scripturæ Sacræ principalis est Deus. §. 18.: Causæ instrumentales fuerunt sancti homines. Scripserunt non ut homines, sed ut Dei homines h. e. ut Dei servi et peculiaria Dei organa.* Hollaz. Prol. iii. Qu. vi. p. 75.....: *Sicut scriptura, quam homo alteri in calamus dictat, recte dicitur verbum humanum in litteras relatum, ita scriptura a Deo inspirata verissime dicitur verbum Dei litteris consignatum.* Quæst. xvi.: *Conceptus omnium rerum, quæ in sacris litteris habentur, prophetis et apostolis a Spir. S. immediate inspirati sunt. Qu. xviii.: Omnia et singula verba, quæ in sacro codice leguntur, a Spir. S. prophetis et apostolis inspirata et in calamus dictata sunt.* Compare other passages quoted by De Wette, Dogmatik, and Hase, Hutterus redivivus.—The Divine origin of Scripture was founded partly upon the *fides divina* (the testimony of the Holy Spirit), and partly upon the *fides humana* (*ἀνθεντία* and *ἀξιοπιστία*); it then served in its turn as the source from which the so-called *affectiones Sacræ Scripturæ* were derived. These were: I. *Affectt. primariæ*: 1. divina auctoritas, 2. veritas, 3. perfectio, 4. perspicuitas (semetipsam interpretandi facultas), 5. efficacia divina: II. *secundariæ*: 1. necessitas, 2. integritas et perennitas, 3. puritas et sinceritas fontium, 4. authentica dignitas. Attention was also directed to

the simplicitas et majestas stili, etc. Comp. Gerhard, Loci l. c. Calov. systema T. i. p. 528 ss. and the other compendiums of systematic theology. See Hase, Hutterus redivivus p. 99 ss.

⁽⁶⁾ The mystics opposed, in the first instance, the orthodoxy of the letter. Thus *Jacob Böhm* said: Though reason may cry: Give me only the letter of Scripture, yet the external letter does not impart sufficient knowledge, although it may guide us in our researches; the living letter also, which is the independent and revealed word and nature of God, must, through the medium of the revealed word, be laid open and read in man, who is taught and instructed by the Holy Ghost himself. See the preface to his work: *Von der Geburt und Bezeichnung aller Wesen*, quoted by *Umbreit*, *Jacob Böhm* p. 66.—Previous to the time of Böhm *Sebastian Frank* of Wörd (who lived in the sixteenth century) had maintained, that “the devil himself may be well versed in Scripture, and even adhere to its very letter, as he is now doing in the case of so many sects which have nothing in their favour but mere Scripture,” etc., quoted by *Umbreit* l. c. p. 60. *Weigel*, *Postille* vol. ii. p. 61. 62. iii. p. 84. says: Scripture, as such, is a dead letter, and an empty word, which sounds through the air; and in another work entitled *Gülden Griff* c. 19.: It is not enough to say, such and such a writer has possessed the Holy Spirit, therefore he cannot make a mistake. My dear friend! first of all prove the truth of thy statement; thou wilt find it a difficult work to prove and demonstrate it. Who is Cephas? who is Paul? says the apostle; who is this man or that? They are all men. It is *God, God* alone, who works faith, and imparts judgment to try the spirits and discern the writings; comp. *Walch*, *Einleitung in die Religionsstreitigkeiten* vol. iv. p. 1044. 45. In the same manner *Christian Hoburg* (quoted by *Hollaz*. ed. *Teller* p. 75.) expressed himself as follows: “Scripture [*i. e.*, the letter of Scripture] is an antiquated, cold, and dead thing, which makes men mere Pharisees.”—*Arnd*, *wahres Christenthum* p. 28. used terms more moderate, but more to the point: God did not reveal his Holy Word that it might remain a dead letter printed upon paper, but become a living power within us, and create in us an entirely new and spiritual nature, otherwise it is of no use. All that Scripture teaches externally must become manifest in man through Christ, in the spirit and in faith. *Ibid.* p. 89.:

The living Christ is the book in which we must read, and from which we must learn.

(7) *Spener* agreed with the mystics in this, that the dead letter can do nothing. But he opposed quite as decidedly the pre-eminence assigned to the spirit without Scripture. Thus he said, in opposition to the notions of the Quakers: So far from our feelings being the norm of truth, Divine truth is the norm of our feelings. This norm of truth exists in the Divine Word *apart from ourselves*: see the passages quoted by *Henricke* p. 6. and 7. Concerning the right of the laity to read and search the Sacred Scriptures, he expressed himself as follows (*Geistliches Priesterthum, Francfurt 1677. p. 29.*): “Since the epistle of our heavenly Father is addressed to all his children, no child of God is to be excluded from its perusal; all have not only this right, but are also commanded to read it.” “They must also search the Scriptures that they may be enabled to examine the doctrine of their minister, in order that their faith may not be founded upon the authority and testimony of men, but upon Divine truth.”^a But *Spener* made special efforts to render the *Bible* practical, both among the people (by a more popular interpretation of Scripture), and among theologians by his *collegia biblica. Comp. Pia Desideria (Francf. 1712.) p. 94 ss.*

(8) The Universities of Louvain and Douay condemned (A. D. 1588) the assertion of the Jesuits that it was not necessary to suppose that the very words of Scripture are inspired. A controversy respecting inspiration was carried on (A. D. 1622) between the Jansenists and the Jesuit Jean Adam. In his opinion the sacred penmen have sometimes made exaggerated statements; on the whole, it is by no means necessary to take every thing in Scripture in its most literal sense. The Jansenists showed the dangerous tendency of such assertions. *Reuchlin, Geschichte von Port-Royal i. p. 613 ss.*—In opposition to the Protestant doctrine concerning Scripture, *Bellarmin* maintained (*de verbo Dei iv. 4.*):.....*Apostolos non de scribendo, sed de prædicando Evangelio primaria intentione cogitasse. Præterea, si doctrinam*

^a *Spener* thought it even desirable (p. 38.) that the laity should study Greek and Hebrew, “to be enabled to understand the revelations of the Holy Spirit in his own language;” nevertheless, “the want of acquaintance with foreign languages does not exclude pious Christians from a true knowledge of that which God has deemed necessary for the edification of their souls.”

suam litteris consignare *ex professo* voluissent, certe catechismum aut similem librum confecissent. At ipsi vel historiam scripserunt, ut Evangelistæ, vel epistolas ex occasione aliqua, ut Petrus, Paulus, Jacobus etc. et in iis *nonnissi obiter* [?] disputationes de dogmatibus tractaverunt.—He rejected the testimony of Scripture in favour of inspiration, as a testimony in its own cause; not only the Bible, but also the Koran, claims inspiration! He further maintained that there was no sure criterion for the canonicity of the separate books in Scripture itself, etc.^a Nor were the critical investigations of Richard Simon reconcilable with the idea of verbal inspiration. Compare his *Traité de l'inspiration des livres sacrés*. Reterd. 1687.

(9) On the difference between the hermeneutical principles of the Protestants, and those of the Roman Catholics, see above, § 242. notes 6 and 7. For further particulars compare *Klausen*, *Hermeneutik* p. 227 ss.

(10) *Liber de potentiæ S. S. Comp. Aphorismi contra Pontificios—Animadversiones in Bellarmini controversias*. His main principle was, “*that the words of Scripture must everywhere be supposed to signify just as much as they may signify.*” In decided opposition to the principle of Arminians and Socinians, according to which every passage is to be considered separately and in its historical limits, Coccejus endeavoured to treat the various books of the Bible as connected parts of a greater whole, so that the one is reflected by the other. Comp. *Klausen Hermeneutik* p. 282 ss. It is a well-known saying: *Grotium nusquam in sacris litteris (V. T.) invenire Christum, Coccejum ubique.*

(11) *e. g.*, Turretin, Werenfels, and others. The sceptical sentence of Werenfels is well known:

Hic liber est, in quo quisque sua dogmata quærit,
Invenit et iterum dogmata quisque sua.

(12) Thus, *Becker* (*die bezauberte Welt*, preface p. 11 ss.) represented reason as antecedent to Scripture, but maintained that they did not contradict each other. “To say the truth, reason

^a To refute *Calvin* (*Instit.* vii. 12.), in whose view the Sacred Scriptures are distinguished from profane writings, as light from darkness, and sweet from sour, he adduced the opinion of Luther, who called the Epistle of James a straw Epistle.

must precede Scripture, because Scripture pre-supposes reason ; I mean sound reason, to which Scripture must prove its divine origin. Reason exists along with Scripture, speaking of things concerning which the latter is silent. Scripture exists along with reason, because it teaches us something very different which does not belong to the province of reason. And lastly, Scripture is, nevertheless, above reason, not as lord and master (for either has its respective office), but because it possesses greater dignity and larger means....But at times it happens that they meet by the way, or have a meeting in some house, and thus assist each other ; both remain, however, free, with this difference only, that reason, acknowledging its inferiority, always pays deference to Scripture."

Though Protestants were accustomed to consider both the Old and the New Testament as constituting *one* norm of faith, it was natural that the material principle of faith, which manifested itself in the evangelical doctrine of justification by faith, should exert a reaction upon the formal, and render necessary some kind of subordination of the Old Testament to the New (of the law to the gospel.) The symbolical books make a difference between the ceremonial and the moral law. The former had typical significance, and is now fulfilled ; the latter partly shows us the nature of sin (as in a mirror), and partly is still of importance as a rule of life. Comp. Articles of Schmalk. Art. 2. p. 319. Apol. p. 83. Confess. Gallica Art. 23. Belg. 25. Helv. ii. c. 12. 13.—In reference to the Antinomian controversy (§ 217. note 7.) see the Formula Concordiae Art. 5. and 6. (de tertio usu legis.)—But it cannot well be said that the law and the gospel are identical, the one with the Old, the other with the New Testament ; for the prophecies in the Old Testament partake of the nature of the gospel, while the New Testament contains moral precepts. See the preface of Luther to his translation of the New Testament 1522.

SECOND SECTION.

 ANTHROPOLOGY, JUSTIFICATION, AND ECONOMY
OF REDEMPTION.

(MATERIAL PRINCIPLE.)

A. ANTHROPOLOGY.

§ 244.

MAN PRIOR TO THE FALL.

During the present period, the opinion generally prevailed, among Christians of all denominations, that the state of our first parents had been more excellent, both in respect to body and soul, *prior* to the fall, than after it.⁽¹⁾ But while the theologians of the Roman Catholic Church agreed with the majority of the scholastics in regarding the original righteousness of man as a *donum superadditum*,⁽²⁾ Protestants (Lutherans as well as Calvinists), maintained that God had created man in the possession of perfect righteousness and holiness,⁽³⁾ qualities which, together with immortality, belonged to his original nature. *Arminians*⁽⁴⁾ and *Socinians*⁽⁵⁾ entertained less exalted opinions concerning the original state of man. The latter asserted, that the image of God, after which man was created, has only reference to his dominion over animals, or the irrational creation in ge-

neral, and denied that immortality formed a part of his original nature.⁽⁶⁾

⁽¹⁾ Conc. Trid. sess. 5.: Si quis non confitetur, primum hominem.....sanctitatem et justitiam, in qua constitutus fuerat, amisisse incurrisseque mortem, quam antea illi comminatus fuerat Deus, anathema sit. (This was in accordance with the definitions of the Protestant symbols, see note 3.) Comp. the Confess. orthod. of the Greek Church, p. 50. quoted by Winer p. 51.

⁽²⁾ Cat. Rom. i. 2. 19 :.....Originalis *justitiæ admirabile donum addidit*, ac deinde cæteris animantibus præesse voluit. This is more fully developed by *Bellarmin* Tom. iv. de gratia primi hom. c. 2. Propos. 4.: Integritas illa, cum qua primus homo conditus fuit et sine qua post ejus lapsum homines omnes nascuntur, non fuit naturalis ejus conditio, sed supernaturalis evectio. Comp. c. 5 :.....Quare non magis differt status hominis post lapsum Adæ a statu ejusdem in puris naturalibus, quam differt spoliatus a nudo. In the following chapter the justitia originalis is compared to the hair of Samson, to a festive garment, and ornament, etc.^a—c. 6.: Virtutes non erant insitæ et impressæ ipsi naturæ, ut sunt dona naturalia, sed extrinsecus assutæ ac supperadditæ, ut sunt dona supernaturalia. c. 7.: The dowry of paradise was splendid, while that of nature, in its present condition, has the appearance of a stepmother's dowry (in proof of which he appeals to Augustine.) Comp. Marheinecke, Symbolik, Vol. iii. towards the commencement. Möhler, Symbolik § 1. Baur, Katholicismus und Protestantismus p. 60 ss.

⁽³⁾ Luther himself gave it as his opinion (in Gen. c. 3.—Opp. ed. Jen. T. i. p. 83. quoted by Möhler p. 35.), justitiam non fuisse quoddam donum, quod ab extra accederet, separatum a natura hominis, sed fuisse vere naturalem, ut natura Adæ esset diligere Deum, credere Deo, cognoscere Deum, etc. Comp. Melanchth. loci i. p. 85. Calv. Institutt. i. c. 15. § 8 :.....His præclaris dotibus excelluit prima hominis conditio, ut ratio, intelligentia, prudentia, judicium non modo ad terrenæ vitæ gubernationem suppeterent, sed quibus transcenderent usque ad Deum et æternam felicitatem...In hac integritate libero arbitrio pollebat homo,

^a Other comparisons, e.g. that with the wreath of a virgin, a golden bridle, etc., are quoted by Marheinecke, Symbolik iii. p. 12.

quo si vellet adipisci posset æternam vitam. Similar assertions were made in the symbols of both the Lutheran and the Reformed churches.^a Apol. Conf. Aug. p. 53 ss. : Justitia originalis habitura erat non solum æquale temperamentum qualitatum corporis, sed etiam hæc dona, notitiam Dei certiolem, timorem Dei, fiduciam Dei aut certe rectitudinem et vim ista efficiendi. Idque testatur Scriptura, cum inquit, hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei conditum esse (Genes. i. 27.) Quod quid est aliud, nisi in homine hanc sapientiam et justitiam effigiatam esse, quæ Deum apprehenderet et in qua reluceret Deus, h. e. homini dona esse data notitiam Dei, timorem Dei, fiduciam erga Deum et similia? Comp. p. 52 : propriis viribus posse diligere Deum super omnia, facere præcepta Dei, quid aliud est quam habere justitiam originis? Comp. Form. Concord. p. 640.—Confess. Basil. i. Art. 2. : “Concerning man, we confess that he was at first created by God after the image of God’s holiness and justice.” (Gen. i. Eph. iv. 24. Gen. iii.) Conf. Helv. ii. 8. : Fuit homo ab initio a Deo conditus ad imaginem Dei, in justitia et sanctitate veritatis, bonus et rectus. Comp. Conf. Belg. Art. 14. Scot. 2. Gal. 9. Cat. Heidelb. 6. Canon Dordrac. 3. 1. (where perhaps the strongest expressions are used), and Form. Concord. 7. Compare the definitions of the later Lutheran and Reformed theologians quoted by De Wette, Dogmatik p. 91. *Calov.* iv. 392 :.....Eminebat cognitio primæva præ moderna quorumvis, sive Theologorum sive Philosophorum aliorumve sapientum peritia et sapientia. *Polan* p. 2122 : Homo integer recte cognoscebat Deum et opera Dei atque se ipsum, et sapienter intelligebat omnia simplicia, singularia et universalia eaque recte componebat aut dividebat et ex compositis absque errore ratiocinabatur.—Those theologians who adopted the theory of covenants, supposed the status operum to have taken place in this original state of man. Comp. De Wette, Dogmatik p. 92.

(⁴) The *Arminian symbols* (Confess. Remonstrant. 5. 5. and Apol. Confess. p. 60. quoted by Winer p. 52.) agree with Calvin in establishing the original freedom of the will, but reject the notion of a primitive state of perfect holiness, because, if there

^a With this sole exception, that neither the symbols of the Lutheran Church, nor some of those of the Reformed Church, made mention of the freedom of the will, to which Calvin had a special reference; see Möhler p. 40.

had been such, man could not have sinned. Thus *Limborch* theolog. christ. ii. 24. 5. shewed that our first parents possessed not only that state of innocence to which so much importance is attached, but must also have been *ignorant* (*nesciebant nuditatem esse indecoram*); otherwise they would have known that serpents cannot speak, and would have been led to suspect something wrong! *Limborch* admitted that man would not have died, if he had not sinned, but he objected to the inference which orthodox theologians drew from it, viz. that immortality originally belonged to the nature of man;^a he only thought that God would have protected him against death.

⁽⁵⁾ *Cat. Racov.* p. 18. (quoted by *Winer* p. 52.) *Socin. præl. e. 3.* : Si justitiæ originalis nomine eam conditionem intelligunt, ut non posset peccare, eam certe non habuit Adamus, cum eum peccasse constet. Neque enim peccasset, nisi prius peccare potuisset.....Concludamus igitur, Adamum etiam antequam mandatum illud Dei transgrederetur, *revera justum non fuisse*, cum nec impeccabilis esset nec ullam peccandi occasionem habuisset, vel certe justum eum fuisse affirmari non posse, cum nullo modo constet, eum ulla ratione a peccatis abstinuisse. Compare also *Cat. Racov. Qu. 22.* (the last edition quoted by *Winer* l. c.)

⁽⁶⁾ *Socinus*, de statu primi hominis ante lapsum (in opposition to *Francis Pucci* of Florence) 1578. in the *Bibl. Fratr. Polon.* ii. p. 253 ss. p. 258: *Nego, hominem a Deo immortalem fuisse creatum.*—But he did not mean to say, eum ab ipso creationis initio morti penitus fuisse obnoxium, adeo ut omnino ei moriendum esset, sed tantummodo sui natura morti fuisse subjectum, et non nisi divina gratia, qua in ipsa creatione donatus non fuerat, a morte immunem perpetuo esse potuisse. In support of his opinion he appealed to 1 Cor. xv. 22. and 2 Tim. i. 10. By thus considering Christ as the true author of life, he advocated the principles of Supernaturalism. On similar views entertained by earlier theologians see Vol. i. p. 151–153.

Concerning the opinions of the Mennonites, the Quakers, and the theologians of the Greek Church, which are of less importance, see *Winer* l. c.

^a On the question, how far other Protestants taught that man posse non mori? see *Winer* p. 52

§ 245.

THE FALL AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

It was in connection with these opinions respecting the original state of man, that the Protestant doctrine concerning the fall developed itself, and was propounded in most of the works of the reformers,⁽¹⁾ as well as in the symbolical books of the churches which they originated.⁽²⁾ This doctrine represented the fall of man as an act by which his inmost nature was corrupted, his original righteousness changed into absolute depravity, and whose consequences have so affected his descendants, as to expose them, in their natural condition, to the divine wrath, and to unfit them for the free performance of anything that is truly good. The views of Roman Catholics were less rigid: in their opinion the fall of man caused only the loss of the divine gifts, the natural consequence of which are his imperfection and infirmity.⁽³⁾ The *Arminians* entertained still milder views,⁽⁴⁾ while the *Socinians* bordered more than any other sect upon Pelagianism.⁽⁵⁾ In accordance with some earlier theologians, they declared corporeal death the consequence of the first sin, and inferred the existence of moral infirmity from the habit of sinning, but not from the sin of Adam.

(1) The strictly Augustinian view of *Luther* stood in intimate connection with his disposition, as well as with the tendency of his life. It was increasingly confirmed by the contests which he maintained against the superficial Pelagian doctrine of his opponents, concerning the meritoriousness of works. He developed his principles especially in his controversy with Erasmus, whose views laid down in his treatise: *de libero arbitrio* 1524, he combated in his work: *de servo arbitrio* 1525, in opposition to which Eras-

mus composed the *Hyperaspistes* 1526.—*Melanchthon*, in the first edition of his *Loci*, adopted the doctrine concerning the total corruption of mankind, and the absence of a free will (Edit. Augusti p. 18 ss.), p. 19. : Jam postea quam deliquit Adam, aversatus est Deus hominem, ut non adsit ei gubernator Dei spiritus. Ita fit, ut anima, luce vitæque cœlesti carens, excœcetur, et sese ardentissime amet, sua quærat, non cupiat, non velit, nisi carnalia, etc. *ibid.* Sicut in igni est genuina vis, qua sursum fertur, sicut in magnete est genuina vis, qua ad se ferrum trahit, ita est in homine nativa vis ad peccandum.—In his opinion the virtues of the Gentiles are only virtutum umbræ. Thus Socrates, Cato, and others, were only virtuous from ambition.....p. 23. : Ut rem omnem velut in compendium cogam, omnes homines per vires naturæ vere semperque peccatores sunt et peccant. *Comp. Galle*, p. 247 ss. Respecting the modifications which occur in later editions of his work see *ibid.* p. 266 ss. Similar notions were entertained by *Calvin*, *Inst.* ii. 1 ss. p. 79. (ed. Gen. 1559, f.) : Non aliter interpretari licet quod dicitur, nos in Adam mortuos esse, quam quod ipse peccando non sibi tantum cladem ac ruinam ascivit, sed naturam quoque nostram in simile præcipitavit exitium. Neque id suo unius vitio, quod nihil ad nos pertineat, sed quoniam universum suum semen ea in quam lapsus erat vitiositate, infecit.....Sic ergo se corripit Adam, ut ab eo transierit in totam sobolem contagio, etc. Concerning the less rigid views of *Zwinglius* see §. 246. note 2.

(2) As regards *the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church* see *Confess. August.* Art. 2. : Docent, quod post lapsum Adæ omnes homines, secundum naturam propagati, nascantur cum peccato, h. e. sine metu Dei, sine fiducia erga Deum et cum concupiscentia, quodque hic morbus seu vitium originis vere sit peccatum, damnans et afferens nunc quoque æternam mortem his, qui non renascuntur per baptismum et Spir. S. Damnant Pelagianos et alios, qui vitium originis negant esse peccatum, et ut extenuent gloriam meriti et beneficiorum Christi, disputant hominem propriis viribus rationis coram Deo justificari posse. *Comp. Apol.* Art. 1. 5. Art. Sm. p. 317. : Peccatum hæreditarium tam profunda et tetra est corruptio naturæ, et nullius hominis ratione intelligi possit, sed ex Scripturæ patefactione agnoscenda et cre-

denda sit. Form. Conc. p. 574. : Credimus peccatum originis non esse levem, sed tam profundam humanæ naturæ corruptionem, quæ nihil sanum, nihil incorruptum in corpore et anima hominis, atque adeo in interioribus et exterioribus viribus ejus reliquit.— According to p. 640. nothing is left to man but impotentia et ineptitudo, ἀδυναμία et stupiditas, qua homo ad omnia divina seu spiritualia sit prorsus ineptus.... In aliis enim externis hujus mundi rebus, quæ rationi subjectæ sunt, relictum est homini adhuc aliquid intellectus, virium et facultatum, etsi hæc etiam miseræ reliquiæ valde sunt debiles, et quidem hæc ipsa quantulacunque per morbum illum hæreditarium veneno infecta sunt atque contaminata, ut coram Deo nullius momenti sint. Respecting *the symbolical books of the Reformed Church* comp. Confess. Basil. i. Art. 2. : Man has wilfully committed sin, and by his fall brought corruption upon the whole human race, exposed it to condemnation, weakened our nature, and introduced such a tendency to sin, that if the Holy Spirit does not restore it, man by himself neither will nor can do good. Conf. Helv. ii. 8. : Peccatum autem intelligimus esse nativam illam hominis corruptionem ex primis nostris parentibus in nos omnes derivatam vel propagatam, qua concupiscentiis pravis immersi et a bono aversi, ad omne vero malum propensi, pleni omni nequitia, diffidentia, contemptu et odio Dei, nihil boni ex nobis ipsis facere, imo ne cogitare quidem possumus. Cap. 9. :..... Non sublatus est quidem homini intellectus, non erepta ei voluntas et prorsus in lapidem vel truncum est commutatus. Ceterum illa ita sunt immutata et imminuta in homine, ut non possint amplius, quod potuerunt ante lapsum. Intellectus enim obscuratus est *voluntas vero ex libera facta est voluntas serva.* Nam servit peccato, non nolens sed volens. Etenim voluntas, non noluntas dicitur. *Ergo quoad malum sive peccatum homo non coactus vel a Deo, vel a Diabolo, sed sua sponte malum facit et hac parte liberrimi est arbitrii.*..... Quantum vero ad bonum et ad virtutes, intellectus hominis non recte judicat de divinis ex semet ipso. Heidelberger Catechismus. 7. : By the fall and disobedience of our first parents our nature has been so corrupted that we are all conceived and born in sins. 8. *Quest.* But are we so corrupt that we are wholly unable to do anything that is good, and inclined to do all that is evil? *Answ.* Yes, unless we be regenerated by the

Holy Spirit.^a Comp. Conf. Gall. c. 9. Angl. 9. Belg. 15.: (Peccatum orig.) est totius naturæ corruptio et vitium hæreditarium, quo et ipsi infantes in matris suæ utero polluti sunt, quodque veluti radix omne peccatorum genus in homine producit ideoque ita fœdum et exsecrabile est coram Deo, ut ad generis humani condemnationem sufficiat. Canon. Dord. c. 3. Art. 1. Form. Cons. 11. Comp. Calvini Institutt. i. 1. 8.

(³) The Roman Catholics also rejected pure Pelagianism Conc. Trid. sess. 5. 1. 2. :.....Si quis Adæ prævaricationem sibi soli et non ejus propagini asserit nocuisse, et acceptam a Deo sanctitatem et justitiam, quam perdidit, sibi soli et non nobis etiam eum perdidisse, aut inquinatum illum per inobedientiæ peccatum mortem et pœnas corporis tantum in omne genus humanum transfudisse, non autem et peccatum, quod mors est animæ, anathema sit. Sess. 6. c. 1. it is asserted that the free will of man is, by the fall, weakened and turned aside (attenuatum et inclinatum); on the other hand, it is maintained, in terms quite as decided, Can. 5. : Si quis liberum hominis arbitrium post Adæ peccatum amissum et extinctum esse dixerit.....anathema sit. Comp. Cat. Rom. iii. 10. 6. and especially Bellarmin, de amiss. gratiæ.

(⁴) Apol. Conf. Remonstr. p. 84. b. (quoted by Winer p. 59.): Peccatum originale nec habent (Remonstrantes) pro peccato proprie dicto, quod posteros Adami odio Dei dignos faciat, nec pro malo, quod per modum proprie dictæ pœnæ ab Adamo in posteros dimanet, sed pro malo, infirmitate, vitio aut quocunque tandem alio nomine vocetur, quod ab Adamo justitia originali privato in posteros ejus propagatur: unde fit, ut posteri omnes Adami eadem justitia destituti, prorsus inepti et inidonei sint ad vitam æternam consequendum, aut in gratiam cum Deo redeant, nisi Deus nova gratia sua eos præveniat, et vires novas iis restituat ac sufficiat, quibus ad eam possint pervenire.....Peccatum autem originis non esse malum culpæ proprie dictæ, quod vocant, ratio manifesta arguit: malum culpæ non est, quia nasci plane involuntarium est, ergo et nasci cum hac aut illa labe, infirmitate, vitio vel malo. Si malum culpæ non est, non potest esse malum pœnæ, quia culpa et pœna sunt relata. Comp. Limborch, theol. christ. 3. 4. 4. and other passages quoted by Winer p. 60. 61.

^a Concerning the controversies to which this proposition afterwards gave rise, see Beckhaus l. c. p. 57. (A. D. 1583 it was opposed by the Dutch theologian Coornhert.)

(⁵) Cat. Racov. (Winer p. 57.) p. 21: Homo morti est obnoxius, quod primus homo apertum Dei mandatum, cui adjuncta fuit mortis comminatio, transgressus fuit. Unde porro factum est, ut universam suam posteritatem secum in eadem mortis jura traxerit, accedente tamen cujusvis in adultioribus proprio delicto, cujus deinde vis per apertam Dei legem, quam homines transgressi fuerint, aucta est.—Cat. Rac. qu. 423. (Winer p. 59): Peccatum originis nullum prorsus est. Nec enim e Scriptura id peccatum originis doceri potest, et lapsus Adæ cum unus actus fuerit, vim eam, quæ depravare ipsam naturam Adami, multo minus vero posterorum ejus posset, habere non potuit.—Faust. Socinus de Christo Serv. 4. 6. (Opp. ii. p. 226): Falluntur egregie, qui peccatum illud originis imputatione aliqua pro ea parte, quæ ad reatum spectat, contineri autumant, cum omnis reatus ex sola generis propagatione fluat. Gravius autem multo labuntur, qui pro ea parte, quæ ad corruptionem pertinet, ex pœna ipsius delicti Adami illud fluxisse affirmant.....Corruptio nostra et ad peccandum proclivitas non ex uno illo delicto in nos propagata est, sed continuatis actibus habitus modo hujus modo illius vitii est comparatus, quo naturam nostram corrumpente ea corruptio deinde per generis propagationem in nos est derivata. Neque vero si Adamus non deliquisset, propterea vel nos a peccatis immunes fuisset vel in hanc naturæ corruptionem incurrere non potuissemus, dummodo ut ille habuit, sic nos quoque voluntatem ad malum liberam habuissemus.—Prælect. Theol. c. 4: Cæterum cupiditas ista, mala, quæ cum plerisque hominibus nasci dici potest, non ex peccato illo primi parentis manat, sed ex eo, quod humanum genus, frequentibus peccatorum actibus, habitum peccandi contraxit et seipsum corrumpit, quæ corruptio per propagationem in posteros transfunditur. Etenim unum illud peccatum per se, non modo universos posteros, sed ne ipsum quidem Adamum corrumpendi vim habere potuit. Dei vero consilio, in peccati illius pœnam id factum esse, nec usquam legitur, et plane incredibile est, imo impium id cogitare, Deum videlicet omnis recititudinis auctorem, ulla ratione pravitatis causam esse, quæ tamen pravitas, quatenus, ut dictum est, per propagationem in hominem derivatur, peccatum proprie appellari nequit.....Concludimus igitur, nullum, improprie etiam loquendo, peccatum originale esse, i. e. ex peccato illo primi parentis nullam labem aut pravi-

tatem universo humano generi necessario ingenitam esse sive inflictam quodammodo fuisse, nec aliud malum ex primo illo delicto ad posteros omnes necessario manasse, quam moriendi omnimodam necessitatem, non quidem ex ipsius delicti vi, sed quia, cum jam homo natura mortalis esset, ob delictum illud suæ naturali mortalitati a Deo relictus est, quodque naturale erat, id in delinquentis pœnam, prorsus necessarium est factum. Quare qui ex ipso nascuntur, eadem conditione omnes nasci oportet: nihil enim illi ademptum fuit, quod naturaliter haberet, vel habiturus esset.—Comp. Opp. i. p. 334. b.: Vita æterna donum Dei est singulare et excellentissimum, quod nihil cum natura hominis commune habet (comp. § 244. note 6.), aut certe ei nulla ratione naturaliter debetur. Ipsius autem hominis perpetua dissolutio ei naturalis est, ut mitissimus existimandus sit Deus, si homini delinquenti eam pœnæ loco constituit. Nam quid illi vel boni aufert, vel mali infert, si eum naturæ ipsius propriæ relinquit, et a se ex terra creatum atque compactum, in terram rursus reverti ac dissolvi sinit. Hoc adeo rationi per se consentaneum est, ut pœna quodammodo dici non possit.

§ 246.

DIFFERENCES WITHIN THE VARIOUS DENOMINATIONS
THEMSELVES.

But differences of opinion also manifested themselves among theologians belonging to the same denomination. In the Lutheran Church it was *Matthias Flacius* who, carrying the Protestant doctrine to an extreme, advanced notions which may be termed heretical; he considered original sin as the substance of man, while *Victorin Strigel* regarded it only as accidens.⁽¹⁾ Among the theologians of the Reformed Church *Zuinglius* expressed himself on this point less rigidly than most others,⁽²⁾ and in later times some professors in the university of *Saumur*, especially *Joshua de la Place*, manifested a disposition to adopt the milder views of

the Arminians.⁽³⁾ On the other hand, in the Roman Catholic Church, it was the *Jansenists* who returned to the stricter doctrines of Augustine.⁽⁴⁾

⁽¹⁾ Concerning the controversy see Planck, *Geschichte des protestantischen Lehrbegriffs* V. 1. p. 285 ss. On this point the authors of the *Formula Concordiæ* expressed themselves as follows, p. 285: *Etsi peccatum originale totam hominis naturam, ut spirituale quoddam venenum et horribilis lepra.....infecit et corrupit.....tamen non unum et idem est corrupta natura seu substantia corrupti hominis, corpus et anima, aut homo ipse, a Deo creatus, in quo originale peccatum habitat.....et ipsum originale peccatum, quod in hominis natura aut essentia habitat eamque corrumpit.*—In like manner the body of a person infected with leprosy, and the disease itself, are two different things. The theologians of the Reformed Church also rejected the notion of Flacius; see *Heidegger* (J. H.) *Corpus Theol. christ.* x. 40. (Ed. Tig. 1700. p. 346.) This opinion may, in its opposition to Pelagianism, be termed *Manichæism*, inasmuch as it converted the moral principle in the idea of sin into a merely physical one; accordingly, Heidegger calls it l. c. *manichæismus incrustatus*.

⁽²⁾ It was only in a certain sense that Zuinglius would admit original sin to be actual sin. *Ad Carol. V. Fidei Ratio: De originali peccato sic sentio: Peccatum vere dicitur, cum contra legem itum est: ubi enim non est lex, ibi non est prævaricatio, et ubi non est prævaricatio, ibi non est peccatum proprie captum, quatenus scilicet peccatum scelus, crimen, facinus aut reatus est. Patrem igitur nostrum peccavisse fateor peccatum, quod vere peccatum est, scelus scilicet, crimen ac nefas. At, qui ex isto prognati sunt, non hoc modo peccarunt; quis enim nostrum in paradiso pomum vetitum depopulatus est dentibus? Velimus igitur nolimus, admittere cogimur, peccatum originale, ut est in filiis Adæ, non proprie peccatum esse, quomodo jam expositum est, non enim est facinus contra legem. *Morbis igitur est proprie et conditio.* Morbis, quia, sicut ille ex amore sui lapsus est, ita et nos labimur; conditio, quia, sicut ille servus est factus et morti obnoxius, sic et nos servi et filii iræ nascimur et morti obnoxii.*

He illustrated his views by adducing the example of servants who have been made prisoners, together with their master, but with-

out their fault (this illustration resembles that used by Roman Catholic writers.)

(3) *Joshua Placcæus*, *Theses theologicae de statu hom. lapsi ante gratiam*. 1640, and *Disput. de imputatione primi peccati Adami*. Salmur 1655. He only admitted an indirect imputation of the sin of Adam, but not a direct one; the opposite view was defended in the *Formula Consensus*.

(4) See *Reuchlin*, *Port-Royal* p. 342 ss. Appendix vii. p. 753 ss.

In connection with their rigid views concerning the nature and origin of sin, the Protestants could not but reject the notion of the *immaculate conception of the Virgin*; that they for some time retained the predicates: *pura et intemerata virgo* (Conf. Bas. I.), and others, does not by any means prove that they admitted the doctrine itself; comp. *Declaratio Thoruniens.* (quoted by Augusti p. 415 and 416): *Omnes homines, solo Christo excepto, in peccato originali concepti et nati sunt, etiam ipsa sanctissima Virgo Maria.*—But the doctrine in question continued to meet with opposition on the part of Roman Catholic writers themselves, and neither the Council of Trent, nor Bellarmin, nor some of the later popes (*e. g.*, Gregory XV. and Alexander VII.), ventured to determine the point at issue. Comp. *Winer* p. 57. note 2. Augusti, *Archæologie* III. p. 100.

§ 247.

FURTHER DEVELOPEMENT OF THE DOCTRINE CONCERNING MAN, IN THEORY AS WELL AS IN PRACTICE.

The anthropology of the Protestant Church was more fully developed both by theologians of a practical tendency, and the adherents of the schools. In accordance with the spirit of earlier scholasticism, Lutherans and Calvinists alike entered into inquiries respecting the creation of man,⁽¹⁾ the propagation of the human race, (Creatianism and Traducianism),⁽²⁾ the nature of the fall,⁽³⁾ of original sin,⁽⁴⁾ and of actual sin.⁽⁵⁾ The conviction of sin and moral inability, as well as the consciousness of the freedom of the will, continued to manifest themselves in practical life, though, in reference to the former, it may be said that the definitions

of the schools, and the bigoted zeal which *Calov* displayed in his controversy with *Calixt* and his followers,⁽⁶⁾ rendered it a dead letter. On the contrary, the *Pietists* again pointed out the importance of the practical bearing of the doctrine concerning the corruption of mankind, and insisted at the same time upon the necessity of a total change of the heart.⁽⁷⁾ This was also the case with the *Jansenists* in the Roman Catholic Church,⁽⁸⁾ while the principles of *Jesuitism* were favourable to a less genuine morality.⁽⁹⁾

(1) The assertion that there had been human beings prior to the creation of Adam (*Præadamites*), gave rise to a short controversy in the Reformed Church. *Isaac Peyrerius* (de la Peyrère), who had become a convert to Romanism, and died A. D. 1676, as one of the priests of the oratory, published 1655, a work entitled: de Præadamitis. Comp. Bayle Dictionaire iii. p. 637. 38. His notion was opposed by *Calov* iii. p. 1049, who called it "monstrous opinion," *Quenstedt* i. p. 733 ss. and *Hollaz* p. 406.—According to the common definition of man in works on systematic theology, he is nothing but an animal rationale. As regards the principle of division, most writers adopted the dichotomistic principle, according to which man consists of body and soul. Thus *Hollaz* says, P. i. c. 5. qu. 6. (p. 410): Homo constat e duabus partibus, anima rationali et corpore organico; other definitions are given by *Hase*, *Hutterus redivivus* p. 192.—*John Gerhard* thought that man was an image of the Trinity; see *Loci theol.* Tom. iv. loc. ix. § 6. On God's breathing the breath of life into man's nostrils, comp. *ibid.* § 12. (quoted by *De Wette Dogmatik* p. 89): Non ex intimo ore suæ essentiæ spirat Deus animam hominis, sicut Spiritum S. ab omni æternitate intra divinam essentiam Pater cum Filio spirat, sed animam in tempore extra suam essentiam creatam homini inspiravit.

(2) *Gerhard* very properly left it to philosophers (ix. 8. § 118.) to define the *modus propagationis*; but he taught himself § 116.animas eorum, qui ex Adamo et Eva progeniti fuissent, non creatas, neque etiam generatas, sed propagatas fuisse; similar views were entertained by *Calov* iii. 1081. and *Hollaz* i. 5.

qu. 9. (p. 414. 15.): Anima humana hodie non immediate creatur, sed mediante semine fœcundo a parentibus generatur et in liberos traducitur.....Non generatur anima ex traduce, sine semine fœcundo, tamquam principio materiali, sed *per* traducem, seu mediante semine prolifico, tamquam vehiculo propagatur.— On the contrary, *Bellarmin, Calvin*, and the theologians of the Reformed Church in general, advocated the theory of Creatianism, which they thought perfectly reconcileable with the doctrine of original sin. Calvin, indeed, did not attach so much importance to such definitions as the earlier scholastics (Instit. ii. 1. 7.): neque ad ejus rei intelligentiam necessaria est anxia disputatio, quæ veteres non parum torsit, but he continued as follows: Neque in substantia carnis aut animæ causam habet contagio: sed quia a Deo ita fuit ordinatum. Bucan. p. 92: Quod totum genus humanum ab Adamo corruptum est, non tam ex genitura provenit.....quam ex justa Dei vindicta. Other passages are quoted by De Wette, Dogmatik p. 89. Among the Lutheran theologians it was *Calixt* who defended Creatianism in his treatise de animæ creatione; see De Wette l. c.

(3) The fall of our first parents was called peccatum originans in distinction from original sin (peccatum originale, originatum.) The causa externa, prima et principalis was Satan, the causa instrumentalis was the serpent, by which we are to understand a real serpent possessed with the devil. *Gerhard* loc. x. § 8. p. 295. endeavoured to reconcile the too literal interpretation of Josephus (Antiq. 3. 1.) with the allegorizing exposition of Philo (de mundi opif. f. 46.) by saying: Nos nec nudum, nec mere allegoricum, sed diabolo obsessum ac stipatum serpentem hic describi statuimus. (He proves this at some length from the twofold nature of the serpent, and the curse pronounced upon the devil no less than upon the serpent.) Compare De Wette p. 94. and Hase, Hutterus redivivus p. 202. where passages are quoted from other writers. Calvinistic theologians indulged in similar speculations. This was the case *e. g.* with *Heidegger* x. 10. In ch. 14. he describes the *μεθοδεία* tentationis satanicæ, and then proceeds (in the subsequent chapters, especially ch. 18.) to examine the guilt of man. Adam's fall was not particularis, but generalis... Non simplex, sed concatenatum peccatum fuit, et universæ legis amoris Dei et proximi violationem involvit. He transgressed the

laws both of the first and the second table. His guilt was considerably increased, partly because, having received so many blessings from the hand of God, he could have no pretext for sinning, partly because the command was in itself easily to be complied with. Other circumstances also, such as time and place (*i. e.* his recent creation and his abode in paradise), added to his guilt, as well as his high office in his capacity as the father of the human race. *Accedit, quod (peccatum Adæ) radix fuit omnium peccatorum et velut equus Trojanus, ex cujus utero et iliis innumera peccata omniumque malorum Ilias prodierunt, ut gravissimum hoc peccatum et apostasiam a Deo vivente fuisse, dubitari nullo modo possit.*—In ch. 19. he examines (after the example of the scholastics) the question, whether Adam had the greater guilt, or Eve? which he thus decides: *Nobis Scriptura utcunque innuere videtur, gravius peccasse Adamum, cum non tam Evæ, quam Adami peccatum accuset (Rom. v. 12. 1 Cor. xv. 22.)* In ch. 20. he treats of the share which God had in the fall: *Nec Deus spectator otiosus fuit. Nam ante peccatum tum lege illud vetuit, tum comminatione ab eo hominem deterruit. In peccato et explorationis causa hominem sibi reliquit, et patrato jam ab Eva peccato, oculos ejusdem ad agnoscendam nuditatem prius non aperuit, quam Adam etiam peccasset. Post illud immediate iudicium in peccatores exercuit.....et in remedium peccati Christum προκεχειροτονημένον revelavit.* Nevertheless he modestly adds: *In modo, quem divina providentia circa peccatum adhibuit, explicando cogitationes et linguæ nostræ ita frænandæ sunt, ut cogitemus semper Deum in cælo esse, nos in terra, eum fabricatorem esse, nos ejus plasma. Cumque intelligere, quomodo creati simus, non valeamus, multo equidem minus intelligere possumus, quomodo facti ad imaginem Dei mutari potuerimus, ut tamen non independenter homo egerit, et Deus malum non fecerit.* *Comp. Gerhard § 14 ss.—§ 25; Maneat ergo firmum fixum, Deum non decrevisse nec voluisse istum protoplastorum lapsum, nec impulsisse eos ad peccatum, nec eo delectatum fuisse, etc.*

(⁴) *Gerhard Loci x. c. 3 ss. § 51: Per hominem victum tota natura corrupta est et quasi fermentata peccato.—§ 52: Peccatum illud (Adami) non est modis omnibus a nobis alienum, quia Adam non ut privatus homo, sed ut caput totius humani generis peccavit, atque ut natura humana per ipsum communicata fit*

propria cuique personæ ex ipso genitæ, sic et naturæ corruptio per propagationem communicatur. Ac proinde quemadmodum tribus Levitica inclusa lumbis Abrahamæ decimas obtulisse Melchisedecho dicitur (Hebr. vii. 9.) ita et nos, qui in lumbis Adæ peccantis delituimus, in et cum ipso non modo corrupti, sed et rei iræ Dei facti sumus. His views are more fully developed c. 5. —According to *Heidegger* x. 44 ss. not only the potentiæ naturales (superiores: mens et voluntas; inferiores: sensitiva et vegetativa) are subject to corruption, but also the qualitates; conscience itself has suffered from the consequences of sin, nor are the bodily organs exempt from the general corruption (Matth. v. 29, 30.) Concerning the nature of original sin it is said c. 50: Neque peccatum originale merus reatus peccati alieni, neque concupiscentia sola proprie, neque nuda justitiæ carentia est. Sed late acceptum peccati alieni imputatione, et labe omnibus facultatibus inhærente, easque tum a bono avertente, tum ad malum convertente, quam utramque distinctus reatus sequitur; *strictè* vero pro solo eo, quod nascentibus seu orientibus inest, labe ea facultatibus insita, quam etiam proprius reatus sequitur, constat. Cum enim peccatum pertineat ad facultates hominis, ab iis non est discedendum. Itaque cum peccatum originis non pertineat ad opera, quæ a facultatibus illis procedunt, necesse est in ipsis illis, ceu spiritalis quædam lepra hæreat.

(5) A distinction was made between peccatum originale (habituale) and actuale, and actual sins were further divided into peccata voluntaria et involuntaria, peccata commissionis et omissionis, peccata interiora et exteriora, or peccata cordis, oris et operis, etc. Most writers agreed in defining sin as illegalitas seu difformitas a lege divina. Comp. *Gerhard Loci* Tom. v. ab initio. *Heidegger* c. 52 ss. and other passages quoted by De Wette l. c.

(6) The views of *Calixt*, which he held at an early period of his life, were laid down in a collected form in his *Dissertat. de peccato* (written A. D. 1611); see *G. Calixtii de præcipuis christianæ religionis capitibus Disputationes xv.* ed. a F. U. Calixto Helmst. 1658. 4. Disput. v. In combating Traducianism (comp. note 2.) he made the following assertions: Thes. 33.: Quare peccatum originis in nobis non est ipsa culpa a parentibus commissa, et quia culpa non est, nec est reatus, quum aperte quoque scriptum

sit (Ezech. xviii. 20.): Filius non portabit iniquitatem patris, si videlicet ipse eam non adprobet aut imitetur.—Thes. 56.: Vera et sincera est sententia, quam proposuimus, quod scilicet peccatum originis non sit ipsa culpa Adæ, nec sit reatus consequens culpam, verum pravitas naturæ, non tamen sine relatione ad primam culpam, cujus est tamquam effectus immediate consequens.....Hæret itaque in nobis aliquid, et peccatum originale dicitur, quod non est ipsa illa prima Adæ prævaricatio, sed aliquid aliud ab ipsa manans. Th. 57: Optime autem cognoscitur ex opposita integritate, quæ sicuti in intellectu erat cognitio, in voluntate amor et pronitas ad benefaciendum, in adpetitu obsequium et concordia cum superioribus facultatibus, ita pravitas hæc in intellectu est, ignorantia, in voluntate pronitas ad malefaciendum, in adpetitu rebellio. 58: Et sicuti in integritate sive ad imaginem Dei conditus erat homo, ita nunc in pravitate sive ad imaginem Adæ gignitur. 59: Et sicuti homo si non peccasset, integritas naturam humanam semper et inseparabiliter consequuta fuisset, et una cum illa ad posteros propagata, ita, postquam homo peccavit, pravitas eam concomitatur et propagatur. 60: Et sicuti integritas fuisset tamquam actus primus, actus autem secundus, ex illo primo natus, studium et exercitium integritatis, ita nunc pravitas ista connata est actus primus, actus autem secundus est pravitas pravum actum producens. Thes. 93: (in which he opposes Flacius) he says: Pejor autem hæresis quam Manichæorum, adserere substantiam humanam esse peccatum, et hanc nihilominus a Deo propagari et conservari. Ita enim peccatum a Deo propagabitur et conservabitur, et Deus O. M. auctor peccati constituetur. In Thes. 88. and in some other places, Calixt maintained (like Strigel) that original sin was an accidens.—*Lakermann* (who lived in Königsberg from 1644–46), a disciple of Calixt, asserted in one of his theses quod gratia Dei ita offertur, ut ea oblata, in hominis potestate sit, per illam ea, quæ ad conversionem et salutem necessaria sint, præstare; in another: omnes, si velint, possunt se convertere; further: solum peccatum originale post lapsum adæquata causa damnationis esse non potest. Such sentiments were, in the opinion of Prof. *Mislena*, grossly and dangerously erroneous. Thus the signal was given for a general controversy, in which *Calixt* himself, and his colleague *Conrad Hornejus*, took part.

In consequence of the efforts made by Calov, the views of Calixt and his adherents were condemned (A. D. 1655) in the *Consensus repetitus fidei veræ Lutheranæ*, in which the Lutheran doctrine of original sin was set forth in the most rigid terms. For the passages see Neudecker (Fortsetzung von Münscher ed. by von Cölln) p. 440. On the controversy in general comp. *Planck*, *Geschichte der protestantischen Theologie* p. 107 ss. [*Gass*, *Georg Calixt und der Synkretismus* p. 68 ss. p. 98.]

(7) In the case of *Spener*, as in that of Luther, it was experience which led him to the knowledge of sin, and moulded his views concerning its nature; thus it happened that in his system *sin* and *penance* are closely connected with each other. He does not wait till his views of sin become cold and indifferent, but he strikes, as it were, the iron made red-hot in the furnace of inward experience while it retains its heat. Compare his *theologische Bedenken* (edit. by Hennicke) p. 33 ss.—Nor, when he published (1687) his first treatise in Saxony under the title “*Natur und Gnade*,” was it his intention scientifically to develop the contrast between nature and grace, but his object being practical, he adopted a popular form of expression, and took care not to give offence by representing his views in a very rigid manner.

(8) Both Pietism and Jansenism prove that the system of Augustine, though it has often been charged with paralyzing the moral power of man, nevertheless produces deeper and more lasting effects than Pelagianism, and that the other charge of its undermining morality cannot be admitted in that universality of application in which it is commonly advanced: *Dei servitus, vera libertas*.

(9) Compare the *lettres provinciales*. *Reuchlin*, *Port-Royal* p. 33 ss. 631 ss.

B. THE DOCTRINE OF SALVATION.

§ 248.

LIBERTY AND GRACE. PREDESTINATION.

Notwithstanding the many religious conflicts to which the Reformation gave rise, Christians of all denominations still agreed in the general belief, that the salvation of man depends on the free grace of God.⁽¹⁾ But they differed on the question, whether the divine decree, which has reference to this point, is unconditional, or depends on the conduct of man, whether it is general or particular. The more rigid views theologians adopted on the doctrine concerning original sin, and the moral inability of man, the more firmly they would maintain that the decrees of God are unconditional. Thus it happened that Roman Catholics,⁽²⁾ Arminians,⁽³⁾ and most of all the Socinians,⁽⁴⁾ endeavoured, in the sense of Pelagianism, or Semipelagianism, to reconcile the divine decrees with human liberty. On the other hand, both Lutherans and Calvinists, following the example of Augustine, rejected the notion of the freedom of the will, and denied every cooperation on the part of man.⁽⁵⁾ Nevertheless it is a striking fact, that the Lutherans avoided the strict consequences of the Augustinian system, and asserted that the decrees of God are conditional,⁽⁶⁾ while the Calvinists not only admitted the necessity of those consequences,⁽⁷⁾ but having once determined the idea of predestination, went so far as to maintain, that the fall of man itself was predestinated by God (*Supralapsarianism*.)⁽⁸⁾ But this notion, so far from meeting with general approba-

tion, was at last almost entirely abandoned to make way for its opposite (*Infralapsarianism*.)⁽⁹⁾ As regards the extent of the atonement, all denominations, with the exception of the Calvinists, held that salvation was offered to all (*Universalism*.)⁽¹⁰⁾ The Calvinists, generally speaking, adopted the notion of particular redemption (*Particularism*), but did not all proceed to the same length;⁽¹¹⁾ some of them even entertained views closely allied to Universalism.

(1) Compare the passages quoted by Winer p. 80. 81.

(2) Conc. Trid. Sess. 6. can. 4. : Si quis dixerit, liberum arbitrium a Deo motum et excitatum nihil cooperari assentiendo Deo excitanti atque vocanti, quo ad obtinendam justificationis gratiam se disponat ac præparet, neque posse dissentire, si velit, sed velut inanime quoddam nihil omnino agere, mereque passive se habere : anathema sit.—Can. 17. : Si quis justificationis gratiam non nisi prædestinatis ad vitam contingere dixerit, reliquos vero omnes, qui vocantur, vocari quidem, sed gratiam non accipere, utpote divina potestate prædestinatos ad malum : anathema sit. The doctrine of the Roman Catholics was in so far decidedly opposed to that of the Pelagians, as the former maintained (Sess. 6. can. 3.) that it is *God* who begins the work of conversion without any co-operation on the part of man ; but they also asserted, that afterwards the free-will must be added, and man take an active part in the work of sanctification. For further passages see Winer p. 84. *Bellarmin* advanced the following proposition (in opposition to Pelagians, etc.), at the very commencement of his treatise : de gratia et lib. arbitr. : Auxilium gratiæ Dei non ita offertur omnibus hominibus, ut Deus expectet homines, qui illud desiderent vel postulent, sed prævenit omnia desideria et omnem invocationem. In ch. 2. he then proceeds to assert : Auxilium gratiæ Dei non æqualiter omnibus adest. Thus far he agrees with the Protestants. He even adds, in ch. 3 : Nulla esset in Deo iniquitas, si non solum aliquibus, sed etiam omnibus hominibus auxilium sufficiens ad salutem negaret. Nevertheless, in ch. 4., he gives the practical advice (after the example of *Augustine*), not to doubt beforehand the salvation of any one, but to

persevere in admonishing, etc. But, in ch. 5, he converts this practical advice into the doctrinal theory : *auxilium sufficiens ad salutem pro loco et tempore, mediate vel immediate omnibus datur* (a proposition which is somewhat limited, and now fully discussed in the subsequent chapters.) In the sequel (in Book ii. and iii.) he endeavours to advocate the doctrine of the free will. In his opinion, the free will is not the condition of being free, but the power of choosing, and of forming resolutions. It is neither *actus* nor *habitus*, but *potentia*, and in *specia potentia activa*. On the cooperation of the free will with the grace of God he says, iv. c. 15. : *Hinc sequitur, ut neque Deus determinet sive necessitet voluntatem, neque voluntas Deum. Nam et uterque concursum suum libere adhibet, et si alter nolit concurrere, opus non fiet. Simile est, cum duo ferunt ingentem lapidem, quem unus ferre non posset; neuter enim alteri vires addit, aut eum impellit, et utrique liberum est onus relinquere. Quamquam Deus, nisi extraordinarie miraculum operari velit, semper concurrat, quando voluntas nostra concurrat, quoniam ad hoc se libere quodam modo obligavit, quando liberam voluntatem creavit. Ex quo etiam sequitur ut licet in eodem prorsus momento temporis et naturæ Deus et voluntas operari incipiant, tamen Deus operetur, quia voluntas operatur, non contra. Et hoc est, quod aliqui dicunt, voluntatem prius natura operari quam Deum, non prioritate instantis in quo, sed a quo. Concerning predestination, he expressed himself as follows, *ibid.* p. 657. : *Deus ab æterno determinavit omnes effectus, sed non ante prævisionem determinationis causarum secundarum, præsertim contingentium et liberarum, et rursus determinavit omnes effectus, sed non eodem modo : alios enim determinavit futuros se operante vel cooperante, alios se permittente, vel non impediante, etc.—ib.* p. 659 : *Deus, qui perfecte cognoscit omnes propensiones et totum ingenium animi nostri, et rursus non ignorat omnia, quæ illi possunt occurrere in singulis deliberationibus, et denique perspectum habet, quid magis congruum et aptum sit, ut moveat talem animum tali propensione et ingenio præditum, infallibiliter colligit, quam in partem animus sit inclinaturus.**

(3) “ *The Arminians suppose a constant cooperation of the human will, awakened by divine grace, with that grace; but in their opinion the influence of the latter is by no means merely of*

a moral nature ; it is the power of the Holy Spirit accompanying the Word of God (Confess. Remonstr. 17. 2. 5.), which exerts an influence upon the mind, and is supernatural as regards its nature, but analogous to the natural power of all truth, as regards the mode of its operation." Winer, p. 86. where the passages are quoted from the Confess. and Apol. Confess. Remonstr. Comp. also *Episcopii Institutt. v. p. 5 ss. Limborch, Theol. christ. Lib. iv. ab init. cap. 12. § 15* : Concludimus itaque, quod gratia divina, per Evangelium nobis revelata, sit principium, progressus et complementum omnis salutaris boni, sine cujus cooperatione nullum salutare bonum ne cogitare quidem, multo minus perficere, possimus.—Cap. 14. § 21 : Gratia Dei primaria est fidei causa, sine qua non posset homo recte libero arbitrio uti. Perinde est, ac si duobus captivis carceri inclusis, et vinculis et compedibus arte constrictis quidam superveniat, qui carcerem aperiat, vincula demat, et egrediendi facultatem largiatur, quin et manu apprehensa eos suaviter trahat et hortetur ut exeant: unus autem occasione hac commoda utatur, libertatemque oblatam apprehendat et e carcere egrediatur; alter vero beneficium istud liberationis contemnat et in carcere manere velit; nemo dicet illum libertatis suæ esse causam, non vero eum qui carcerem aperuit, eo quod aperto carcere, perinde utialter, non egredi, et in captivitate remanere potuit. Dices: Ergo liberum arbitrium, cooperatur cum gratia: Resp. Fatemur, alias nulla obedientia aut inobedientia hominis locum habet. Dices: An cooperatio liberi arbitrii non est bonum salutare? Resp. Omnino. Dices: Ergo gratia non est primaria causa salutis? Resp. non est *solitaria*, sed tamen *primaria*; ipsa enim liberi arbitrii cooperatio est a gratia tamquam primaria causa: nisi enim a præveniente gratia liberum arbitrium excitatum esset, gratiæ cooperari non posset. Dices: Qui potestatem habet credendi, non salvatur, sed qui actu credit: cum itaque prius tantum sit a Deo, posterius a nobis, sequitur, nos nostri salvatores esse. Respondeo 1. Quoniam sine potestate credendi actu credere non possumus, sequitur eum qui credendi potestatem largitus est, etiam actus fidei primariam esse causam. Unde et in Scriptura uni gratiæ plerumque fides et conversio nostra adscribi solet: quia....solenne est, opera magna et eximia adscribi causæ principali, minus principalium nulla sæpe mentione facta. Quod et hic usu venit, ut homo sem-

per beneficii divini memor, agnosceret se nullas ex seipso ad tantum bonum consequendum vires habere. Non tantum enim quod possimus velle, sed et quod actu velimus, gratiæ debetur, quæ nos prævenit, excitat et impellit ad volendum et agendum, ita tamen ut possimus non velle. 2. Certo sensu concedi potest, hominem sui ipsius servatorem esse, Scriptura ipsa ab ejusmodi loquendi ratione non abhorrente. Phil. ii. 12.

(⁴) It was most of all the *Socinians* whose views savoured of Pelagianism. Comp. Cat. Racov. qu. 422: Estne liberum arbitrium situm in nostra potestate, ut Deo obtemperemus? Prorsus. Etenim certum est, primum hominem ita a Deo conditum fuisse, ut libero arbitrio præditus esset. Nec vero ulla causa subest, cur Deus post ejus lapsum illum eo privaret; other passages are given by Winer. Comp. also *F. Socinus*, Prælect. Theol. c. 5. and de libero hom. arbitrio deque æterna Dei prædestinatione, scriptum J. J. Grynæo oblatum. Opp. i. p. 780–81. *Joh. Crellii Ethica christ.* (Bibl. Fratr. Pol.) p. 262. The Socinians, like the Pelagians, supposed divine grace to consist especially in the external arrangements of God, but did not exclude its internal effects upon the mind. Cat. Rac. qu. 428–30: Auxilium divinum duplex est, interius et exterius. (Exterius aux. div.) sunt promissa et minæ, quorum tamen promissa vim habent longe majorem. Unde etiam, quod sint sub novo fœdere longe præstantiora promissa, quam sub vetere fuerint, facilius est sub novo, quam sub vetere fœdere voluntatem Dei facere. (Interius auxil. div.) est id, cum Deus in cordibus eorum, qui ipsi obediunt, quod promisit (vitam æternam) obsignat.—p. 251. (in the revised edition): Spir. S. ejusmodi Dei afflatus est, quo animi nostri vel uberiore rerum divinarum notitia vel spe vitæ æternæ certiore atque adeo gaudio ac gustu quodam futuræ felicitatis aut singulari ardore complentur; for further passages see Winer. Socinus thought assisting grace necessary, because the will of most men is weakened (not on account of Adam's sin, but because of their own frequent transgressions); comp. the treatise mentioned above. He rejected the doctrine of predestination, because it destroys all true religion; comp. Prælect. Theol. c. 6 ss.

(⁵) As early as the disputation of Leipsic, *Luther* compared man to a saw, which is a passive instrument in the hand of the carpenter; see Möhler, Symbolik p. 106. Comp. Comment. in

Genes. c. 19: In spiritualibus et divinis rebus, quæ ad animæ salutem spectant, homo est instar statuæ salis, in quam uxor Patriarchæ Loth est conversa; imo est similis trunco et lapidi, statuæ vita carenti, quæ neque oculorum, oris aut ullorum sensuum cordisque usum habet.—But it was especially in his treatise: de servo arbitrio, that he expressed himself in strong terms; the many declarations in which God exhorts man to keep his commandments, appeared to him ironical, as if a father were to say to his child: “Come,” while he well knows that he cannot come (see Galle, Melanchthon p. 270. note.) *Melanchthon* also advanced more rigid views in the first edition of his *Loci*, than in the subsequent ones. Comp. *Galle* p. 247-326.—In accordance with such views the *Confessio Augustana* asserts c. 18: De libero arbitrio docent, quod humana voluntas habeat aliquam libertatem ad efficiendam civilem justitiam et deligendas res rationi subjectas. Sed non habet vim sine Spiritu Sancto efficiendæ justitiæ Dei seu justitiæ spiritualis, quia animalis homo non percipit ea, quæ sunt Spiritus Dei (1 Cor. ii. 14.), sed hæc fit in cordibus, cum per verbum Spir. S. concipitur. Similar principles were set forth in the symbols of the Reformed churches; comp. *Conf. Helv. i. Art. 9. ii. 9*: Proinde nullum est ad bonum homini arbitrium liberum, nondum renato, vires nullæ ad perficiendum bonum, etc. (for the other symbols see *Winer* p. 81. 82.) The change which took place in the opinions of *Melanchthon* gave rise to the *synergistic* controversy, see *Planck* iv. p. 584 ss. *Galle* p. 326 ss. Thus it is said in the refutation which was published Jena 1559. p. 36 b. (quoted by *Planck* p. 598): Fugiamus ac detestemur dogma eorum, qui argute philosophantur, mentem et voluntatem hominis in conversione seu renovatione esse *σύνεργον* seu causam concurrentem, cum et Deo debitum honorem eripiat, et suos defensores, ut *Augustinus* inquit, magis præcipitet ac temeraria confidentia labefactet, quam stabiliat. The same doctrine is propounded in the *Formula Concordiæ* p. 662.: Antequam homo per Spir. S. illuminatur, convertitur, regeneratur et trahitur, ex sese et propriis naturalibus suis viribus in rebus spiritualibus et ad conversionem aut regenerationem suam nihil inchoare, operari aut cooperari potest, nec plus quam lapis, truncus aut limus.

(6) The *Formula Concordiæ* p. 617-19. endeavours to avoid this

difficulty, by drawing a distinction between *prædestinatio* et *præscientia*. *Præscientia* enim Dei nihil aliud est, quam quod Deus omnia noverit, antequam fiant.....Hæc *præscientia* Dei simul ad bonos et malos pertinet, sed interim non est causa mali, neque est causa peccati, quæ hominem ad scelus impellat..... Neque hæc Dei *præscientia* causa est, quod homines pereant; hoc enim sibi ipsis imputare debent. Sed *præscientia* Dei disponit malum, et metas illi constituit, quousque progredi et quamdiu durare debeat, idque eo dirigit, ut, licet per se malum sit, nihilominus electis Dei ad salutem cedat.—*Prædestinatio* vero seu æterna Dei electio tantum ad bonos et dilectos filios Dei pertinet, et hæc est causa ipsorum salutis. Etenim eorum salutem procurat et ea, quæ ad ipsam pertinent, disponit. Super hanc Dei *prædestinationem* salus nostra ita fundata est, ut inferorum portæ eam evertere nequeant. Hæc Dei *prædestinatio* non in arcano Dei consilio est scrutanda, sed in verbo Dei, in quo revelatur, quærenda est.—Such definitions were the consequences of the controversy with the Calvinists. It originated with two theologians of Strassburg, *John Marbach* and *Jerome Zanchius*, the former of whom belonged to the Lutheran, the latter to the Reformed Church; see Planck vi. p. 809.

(7) Among the confessions of faith composed prior to the time of Calvin, the first Confession of Basle declares Art. 1. : Therefore we confess that God has, before the creation of the world, elected all those to whom he will give the inheritance of eternal blessedness; *Zwinglius* adopted the same opinion, and pronounced decidedly in favour of predestination, ad *Carolus Imp. Fidei Ratio* (Opp. ii. p. 539): Constat autem et firma manet Dei electio, quos enim ille elegit ante mundi constitutionem, sic elegit, ut per filium suum sibi cooptaret: ut enim benignus et misericors, ita sanctus et justus est, etc. For further particulars see *Hahn* in the *Studien und Kritiken* 1837, part 4. p. 765 ss.; and on the other side *Herzog, J. J.*, in the *Studien und Kritiken* 1839, part 4. p. 778 ss. From a comparison instituted between *Zwinglius's* doctrine of predestination, and his general views on original sin, and the future state of the heathen (which differed from rigid Augustinism), thus much is evident, that he inferred the doctrine of predestination rather from the nature of God, than from that of man, and proceeded upon speculative rather than upon moral

principles. But this by no means implies that he bordered upon Pantheism. *Calvin* brought the doctrine of predestination into closer connection with that of original sin, *Instit.* iii. c. 21-24. Thus he says c. 23 : *Iterum quæro, unde factum est, ut tot gentes una cum liberis eorum infantibus æternæ morti involveret lapsus Adæ absque remedio, nisi quia Deo ita visum est? Hic obmutescere oportet tam dicaces alioqui linguas. Decretum quidem horribile fateor; inficiari tamen nemo poterit, quin præsciverit Deus, quem exitum esset habiturus homo, antequam ipsum conderet, et ideo præsciverit, quia decreto suo sic ordinarat.* And in the second *Confess. Helvet.* the articles concerning the fall of man and concerning the freedom of the will precede, in the order of subjects, that concerning predestination. *Comp.* also *Conf. Gall.* Art. 12. *Belg.* Art. 16. *Canon. Dordr.* i. 1. etc., quoted by *Winer*; see note 11.

(⁸) *Inst.* iii. c. 23 : *Quum ergo in sua corruptione pereunt, nihil aliud quam pœnas luunt ejusdem calamitatis, in quam ipsius prædestinatione lapsus est Adam ac posteros suos præcipites secum traxit.*—It is on this particular point that *Calvin* (and his disciple *Beza*^a) went further than *Augustine*, who did not include the fall of Adam in the divine decrees. *Calvin* infers the doctrine of predestination both from ethico-anthropological and from theologico-speculative premises; in his opinion it has a practical as well as a theoretical aspect. The name *Supralapsarians*, however, does not occur prior to the *Synod of Dort*. It was especially the *Gomarists* who were favourable to the *supralapsarian* scheme.^b

^a On the question, how far *Luther* felt inclined to adopt such a notion? see *Baur* (in his work against *Möhler*) p. 38.

^b *Episcopus* *Instit.* v. 5. thus defines the difference between the two schemes: duplex est eorum sententia, qui absolutam hujusmodi prædestinationis gratiam asserunt. Una est eorum, qui statuunt, decretum prædestinationis absolute a Deo ab æterno factum esse, ante omnem hominis aut condendi aut conditi, aut lapsi (nedum resipiscentis et credentis) considerationem vel prævisionem. Hi *Supralapsarii* vocantur. Altera est eorum, qui prædestinationis istius objectum statuunt, homines definite præscitos, creatos ac lapsos. *Definite*, inquam, præscitos etc. ut a prima sententia distinguatur, quæ statuit, objectum prædestinationis homines indefinite præscitos, seu (ut *D. Gomarus* loquitur) creabiles, labiles, reparabiles, salvabiles, hoc est, qui creari ac prædestinari poterant. Et hi *Sublapsarii* [*Infralapsarii*] vocantur. . . . Discrepat posterior sententia a priorè in eo tantum, quod prior prædestinationem præordinet lapsui, posterior eam lapsui subordinet. Illa præordinat eam lapsui, ne Deum insipientem faciat: hæc subordinat, ne Deum injustum faciat, i. e. lapsus auctorem. *Comp. Limborch* *Theol. christ.* iv. 2.

⁽⁹⁾ This was the case *e. g.* at the Synod of Delft. Comp. Schröckh, Kirchengesch. nach der Reformation v. p. 224. The Synod of Dort also approved of the infralapsarian scheme; at least its decrees make no express mention of Supralapsarianism. Nor does the Form. Cons. Art. 5. do more than determine that Adam's fall was permitted.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Concerning the necessary connection between universalism and conditional election on the one hand, and between particularism (limited atonement scheme) and unconditional election on the other, see Planck *l. c.* Thus we find in the Formula Concordiæ p. 618: Christus vero omnes peccatores ad se vocat et promittit illis levationem et serio vult, ut omnes homines ad se veniant et sibi consuli et subveniri sinant. p. 619: Quod vero scriptum est, multos quidem vocatos, paucos vero electos esse, non ita accipiendum est, quasi Deus nolit, ut omnes salventur sed damnationis impiorum causa est, quod verbum Dei aut prorsus non audiant, sed contumaciter contemnant, aures obdurent et cor indurent et hoc modo Spiritui Sancto viam ordinariam præcludant, ut opus suum in his efficere nequeat, aut certe quod verbum auditum flocci pendant atque abjiciant. Quod igitur pereant, neque Deus, neque ipsius electio, sed malitia eorum in culpa est. —The same doctrine was established by the Remonstrants, Art. 2: Jesum Christum, mundi servatorem pro omnibus et singulis mortuum esse, atque ita quidem, ut omnibus per mortem Christi reconciliationem et peccatorum remissionem impetraverit, ea tamen conditione, ut nemo illa remissione peccatorum re ipsa fruatur præter hominem fidelem, et hoc quoque secundum evangelium. For other passages see Winer p. 92.

⁽¹¹⁾ Thus the first Confession of Basle (comp. note 7.) does not exclude the possibility that God may have elected all men, or at least all believers. The authors of the Confess. Helvetica also were very cautious in their expressions, c. 10.: Deus ab æterno prædestinavit vel elegit libere et mera sua gratia, nullo hominis respectu, sanctos, quos vult salvos facere in Christo.....Et quamvis Deus norit, qui sint sui, et alicubi mentio fiat paucitatis electorum, *bene sperandum est tamen de omnibus, neque temere reprobis quisquam est adnumerandus.* Comp. Conf. Angl. Art. 17. Scot. Art. 8. In the Catech. Heidelberg. Qu. 20. predestination is made to depend on *faith*. The Calvinists of later times

were not agreed among themselves as to whether Qu. 37. speaks of the universal efficacy of the sufferings and death of Christ or not; see Beckhaus l. c. p. 70. 71. The Confess. Marchica maintains Art. 14. . . . "that God is not the cause of the ruin of man, that he takes no pleasure in the death of the wicked, that he neither introduced sin into the world, nor impels man to sin, that *it is not his will that all men should not be saved*, for the very contrary is asserted in Scripture; but that the origin of sin and perdition is to be found in Satan and the wicked, whom God, on account of their unbelief and disobedience, cast out from his presence. *Therefore we ought not to despair of the salvation of any one, as long as the proper means for obtaining salvation are used*, for no man knows when God will effectually call his people, nor who may yet believe or not, because God is not bound to any time, and orders all things according to his own good pleasure. Therefore we reject all partly blasphemous, partly dangerous, opinions and discourses, such as that we must ascend into heaven by means of our reason, and there inquire in a particular register, or in the secret chancery or office of God, who is ordained to eternal life or not, though God has sealed up the book of life, so that no creature can look into it." Nevertheless the same Confess. expressly condemns as a Pelagian error that notion, according to which God has elected the saints *propter fidem provisam*. The doctrine of particular redemption is set forth not only in the Confess. Gall. Art. 12. Belg. Art. 6. (quoted by Winer p. 88.), but also in the decrees of the Synod of Dort (quoted by Winer p. 89.) and the Form. Cons. Art. 4.: *Deus ante jacta mundi fundamenta in Christo fecit propositum seculorum (Eph. iii. 11.) in quo ex mero voluntatis suæ beneplacito sine ulla meriti, operum vel fidei prævisione ad laudem gloriosæ gratiæ suæ elegit certum ac definitum in eadem corruptionis massa et communi sanguine jacentium adeoque peccato corruptorum numerum, in tempore per Christum sponsorem et mediatorem unicum ad salutem perducendum, etc.*

Such ideas were closely connected with the opinions concerning irresistible grace, and grace which may be lost. According to Calvinists, grace works irresistibly, nor can man lose it when once in his possession. Calvin Instit. iii. 2. 12. Canon. Dord. v. 3. The Lutherans take the opposite view, Confess. Aug. 12. Form. Concord. p. 105: *Et quidem inprimis falsa et Epicurea illa opinio graviter redarguenda atque rejicienda est, quod quidam fingunt, fidem et acceptam justitiam atque salutem non*

posse ullis peccatis aut sceleribus amitti, sed etiamsi homo absque omni Dei timore et pudore pravis suis concupiscentiis indulgent Spiritus S. repugnet, et atrociam flagitia contra conscientiam suam (et quidem malo proposito) designet, nihilominus tamen fidem, gratiam Dei, justitiam atque salutem retineri posse. *Contra hanc pestilentissimam persuasionem* singulari diligentia hae verissimæ, immotæ, divinæ comminationes, pœnæ et admonitiones christianis, per fidem justificatis sæpe repetendæ atque inculcandæ sunt: comp. also the Arminian and Socinian creeds quoted by Winer p. 112. As regards the virtues and salvation of the heathen, the adherents of the Augustinian system adopted the views of its founder.

§ 249.

CONTROVERSIES RESPECTING PREDESTINATION WITHIN THE DENOMINATIONS THEMSELVES.

As early as the lifetime of Calvin himself, *Sebastian Castellio*, and *Jerome Bolsec*, both of Geneva, raised their voices against the Calvinistic doctrine, but did not produce any impression.⁽¹⁾ The more moderate views of Arminius and his followers, always had secret adherents in the Reformed Church itself. *Moses Amyraldus*, a disciple of Cameron, and professor of theology in the academy of Saumur, openly pronounced in favour of what is called Universalismus hypotheticus,⁽²⁾ and was followed by many eminent French theologians. *Samuel Huber*, who had seceded from the Reformed to the Lutheran Church, extended the offer of salvation farther than the Lutheran theologians allowed, and thus exposed himself to persecutions from both parties.⁽³⁾ In the Roman Catholic Church, the advocates of the rigid system of Augustine endeavoured, on different occasions, to re-establish its former authority. The controversies carried on in the university of Louvian,⁽⁴⁾ and the attempt of *Lewis Molina* to reconcile the doctrine of predestination with that concerning the freedom of the will,⁽⁵⁾ gave rise to the papal "Congregationes de auxiliis" (gratiæ divinæ), which, however, did not lead to any

important result,⁽⁶⁾ till at last *Jansenism* established a lasting opposition to the Pelagian tendency of the Romish Church. The Jansenists also adopted the views of their founder concerning predestination.⁽⁷⁾

(1) Shortly after *Castellio* had removed from Geneva to Basle (1544), he published an exposition of the ninth chapter of Paul's Epistle to the Romans, in which he violently attacked the Calvinistic doctrine. In an anonymous pamphlet published at Paris under the title : *Auszüge aus den lateinischen und französischen Schriften Calvins*, the doctrine of election by grace was combated "*with the weapons of the keenest satire and acutest dialectic, in a manner worthy of Voltaire.*" Henry, *Leben Calvins*, i. p. 389. After his death were published : *Sebast. Castellionis Dialogi iv. de prædestinatione, de electione, de libero arbitrio, de fide*. Aresdorffii [Bas.] 1578. 12. On the controversial writings of Bolsec see Bretschneider, *im Reformatoren-Almanach* 1821. p. 117.

(2) Concerning the history of his life see *Bayle*, *Dictionaire* sub voce : *Amyraut*. *Jablonski*, *Institut. Hist. christ. recent.* p. 313. *Schröckh*, *Kirchengesch. nach der Reformation*, viii. p. 660 ss. It was especially against the assertions of Amyraut, as well as of *Lewis Capellus* and *Joshua de la Place*, that the rigid doctrine of the Formula Consens. was directed (comp. § 248. note 11.) The views of Amyraut are developed in his *Traité de la prédestination*. Saumur, 1634. 12. comp. e. g. p. 89. : Si vous considérés le soin que Dieu a eu de procurer le salut au genre humain par l'envoy de son fils au monde, et les choses qu'il y a faites et souffertes à ceste fin, la grace est *universelle* et présentée à tous les hommes. Mais si vous regardés à la *condition* qu'il y a nécessairement apposée, de croire en son fils, vous trouverés qu'encore que ce soin de donner aux hommes un Rédempteur procède d'une merveilleuse charité envers le genre humain, néantmoins ceste charité ne passe pas ceste mesure, de donner le salut aux hommes, pourveu qu'ils ne le refusent pas : s'ils le refusent, il leur en oste l'espérance, et eux par leur incrédulité aggravent leur condamnation. Comp. *Specimen animadversionum in exercitationes de gratia universali*. Salmur. 1684. 4.—Concerning the further progress of this controversy see Walch, *Biblioth. theol. sel.* vol. ii. p. 1023 ss.

(³) He was a native of the Canton Berne in Switzerland, but compelled to leave his country on account of his opinions. After he had joined the Lutheran Church, he became first a pastor in the neighbourhood of Tübingen, and afterwards a professor in the University of Wittenberg. But his assertion that God has, from eternity, elected *all men* to salvation, gave offence to the Lutherans. He was opposed by *Polycarp Lyser* and *Aegidius Hunnius* (1593), whom he in his turn charged with Calvinism. For the particulars of the controversy, and the explanations of Huber, see Schröckh iv. p. 661. and Andr. Schmidii Dissent. de Sam. Huberi vita, fatis et doctrina. Helmst. 1708. 4.

(⁴) The old controversy between the Thomists and Scotists (Dominicans and Franciscans) was revived in the age of the Reformation. While the Council of Trent was yet assembled, a controversy broke out between *Michael Bajus* (de Bay, born 1513, died 1589), and his colleagues, who were followers of Scotus. Pope Pius V. issued a bull (A. D. 1567) in which he condemned 76 propositions of Bajus (several of which were literally taken from Augustine's writings.) Gregory XIII. confirmed this sentence A. D. 1579. But when the Jesuits *Leonard Less* and *John Hamel* propounded the Pelagian system too boldly, the professors in the University of Leyden raised their voices against 34 propositions taken from their lectures, and publicly condemned them. For further details see the works on ecclesiastical history. Baji Opp. Col. 1696. 4.

(⁵) He was also a Jesuit, born 1540, and died 1600 (as a professor of theology in the University of Evora in Portugal.) He wrote: *Liberi arbitrii cum gratiæ donis, divina præscientia, prædestinatione et reprobatione concordia*. He endeavoured to bring about the said reconciliation by distinguishing between præscientia and prædeterminatio; he called the former *scientia media*.

(⁶) They were composed A. D. 1597 by order of Pope Clement VIII., and issued 1607 by Pope Paul V. The Pope imposed (1611) silence upon both parties.—Comp. *Le Blanc*, Aug. (Serry) *Historia Congreg. de auxiliis gratiæ* Antw. 1709. fol.

(⁷) See the general history of doctrines. Pope Urban VIII. condemned the "Augustinism" of Jansen in the bull in eminenti. (Bullar. M. Tom. V.) and Pope Innocent X. condemned (1653) five propositions in particular. For further details see the works

on ecclesiastical history. Concerning the principles of the Jansenists see Reuchlin, Port-Royal. (Compare also §. 228.)

§ 250.

JUSTIFICATION AND SANCTIFICATION. FAITH AND WORKS.

Möhler, Symbolik p. 134 ss. *Baur* p. 215 ss.

Roman Catholics and Protestants agreed in ascribing to God the justification of the sinner, but differed in this, that the former confounded the act of justification with that of sanctification, so as to represent both as the one act of *making just*,⁽¹⁾ while the latter separated the one from the other, asserting that the justification of the sinner before God (which is described as a legal transaction performed by God), is antecedent to his sanctification (which is a physico-therapeutical act.)⁽²⁾ Both Roman Catholics and Protestants admitted, that it is *faith* which justifies the sinner, but there was this great difference between them, that the former maintained that, *in addition* to faith, good works are a necessary condition to salvation, and ascribed to them a certain degree of meritoriousness,⁽³⁾ while the latter adhered rigidly to the proposition "*sola fides justificat.*"⁽⁴⁾ The sects, however, which had their origin in Protestantism, formed here again an exception. While Arminians and Socinians agreed with other Protestants in restricting justification to the act of granting pardon,⁽⁵⁾ the Mennonites and Quakers regarded it as a therapeutical act.⁽⁶⁾ Respecting the relation between faith and works, the Arminians and Socinians, as well as the Mennonites, adopted views more closely allied to those of the Roman Catholics, but with this important difference,⁽⁷⁾ that they denied the meritoriousness of works.⁽⁸⁾

(¹) Conc. Trid. Sess. 6. cap. 7. : Justificatio non est sola peccatorum remissio, sed et sanctificatio et renovatio interioris hominis per voluntariam susceptionem gratiæ et donorum, unde homo ex injusto fit justus et ex inimico amicus, ut sit hæres secundum spem vitæ æternæ, etc. Comp. Can. 11. and Bellarmin, de justif. ii. 2.....Sicut aër cum illustratur a sole per idem lumen, quod recipit, desinit esse tenebrosus et incipit esse lucidus, sic etiam homo per eandem justitiam sibi a sole justitiæ donatam atque infusam desinit esse injustus, delente videlicet lumine gratiæ tenebras peccatorum, etc.

(²) Apol. Augustanæ p. 125. : Justificare h. l. (Rom. v. 1.) forensi consuetudine significat reum absolvere et pronuntiare, justum, sed propter alienam justitiam, videlicet Christi, quæ aliena justitia communicatur nobis per fidem. Comp. p. 73. p. 109. Form. Conc. p. 685. Helv. ii. c. 15. : Justificare significat Apostolo in disputatione de justificatione peccata remittere, à culpa et pœna absolvere, in gratiam recipere et justum pronuntiare.—“ *According to the Roman-Catholic doctrine, Christ, by the act of justification, is really embodied in the believer, so that the latter becomes a living reflection of the prototype; according to the Protestant doctrine, he casts only his shadow upon the believer, which so shelters him, that God does not see his sinfulness.*” Möhler [a Roman-Catholic writer] Symbolik p. 134. On the other side see Baur p. 229 ss. and the passage quoted by Möhler p. 136. from *Calvin's Antidot.* in Conc. Trid. p. 702. : Neque tamen negandum est, quin perpetuo *conjunctæ sint ac cohæreant* duæ ista res, sanctificatio et justificatio. Protestants do not deny that justification and sanctification are closely connected, but they do deny that they are one and the same thing; when the Formula Conc. (Solenn. declar. iii. p. 695.) says : *totam justitiam nostram extra nos quærendam*, it explains this immediately after by adding : *extra omnium hominum merita, opera, etc.*

(³) Conc. Trid. Sess. 6. c. 6.—c. 8. : Per fidem ideo justificari dicimur, quia fides est humanæ salutis *initium, fundamentum et radix* omnis justificationis.—On the other side c. 9. : Si quis dixerit, *sola* fide impium justificari, ita ut intelligat nihil aliud requiri, quod ad justificationis gratiam consequendam coopereturanathema sit. Comp. c. 12. This is connected with the

moral and external (historical) perception of faith. Cat. Rom. i. 1., 1. : Nos de ea fide loquimur, cujus vi omnino assentimur iis, quæ tradita sunt divinitus. Faith taken in this sense (as submission to the authority of the church) may be said to be meritorious. The meritoriousness of works consists in this, that the justitia is *increased* by the performance of good works. Comp. Concil. Trident. Sess. 6. (quoted by Winer p. 104.) Catech. rom. ii. 5. 71. Bellarmin, Justific. v. 1. iv. 7. Nevertheless (according to Bellarmin) the merits of men will not throw the merits of Christ into the shade ; they are rather themselves the effect of the merits of Christ, and serve to manifest his glory among men. Bellarmin v. 5. (quoted by Winer p. 105.)

(4) Confessio Augustana Art. 4. : Docent, quod homines non possunt justificari coram Deo propriis viribus, meritis aut operibus, sed gratis justificentur propter Christum per fidem, cum credunt se in gratiam recipi, et peccata remitti propter Christum, qui sua morte pro nostris peccatis satisfecit. Hanc fidem imputat Deus pro justitia coram ipso. But Protestants did not understand by faith the mere *historical* faith (as Roman Catholics did),^a see Art. 20. (p. 16.) : Admonentur etiam homines, quod hic nomen fidei non significet tantum historię notitiam, qualis est in impiis et diabolo, sed significet fidem, quæ credit non tantum historiam, sed etiam *effectum historię*, videlicet hunc articulum, remissionem peccatorum, quod videlicet per Christum habeamus gratiam, justitiam et remissionem peccatorum. Comp. Apologia p. 68.—Concerning good works, and the relation in which they stand to faith, the Confess. August. says, Art. 20. p. 16. : Falso accusantur nostri, quod bona opera prohibeant. Docent nostri, quod necesse sit bona opera facere, non ut confidamus per ea gratiam mereri, sed propter voluntatem Dei.—Apol. p. 81. : Nos quoque dicimus, quod dilectio fidem sequi debeat. Neque tamen ideo sentiendum est, quod fiducia hujus dilectionis aut propter hanc dilectionem accipiamus remissionem peccatorum et reconciliationem. Ibid. p. 85. : Falso calumniantur nos adversarii, quod nostri non doceant bona opera cum ea non solum requirant, sed etiam ostendant, quomodo fieri possint, etc. Comp. Winer p. 99. and 105. where other passages are

^a The contending parties were well acquainted with the different meanings attached to the term "faith." See Bellarmin de Justific. § 4.

quoted from the Lutheran symbols. The creeds of the Reformed Church express themselves in similar terms. Thus the confession of Basle Art. 9. *Concerning faith and good works*: We acknowledge the forgiveness of sins by faith in Jesus Christ, the crucified one; though this faith continually exercises and manifests itself by the works of love, we do not ascribe righteousness and satisfaction for our sins to works as the fruit of faith, but solely to true confidence and faith in the blood of the Lamb of God, which was shed for the remission of our sins, for we freely confess that all things are given to us in Christ. Therefore believers are not exhorted to perform good works to make satisfaction for their sins, but only in order to manifest their gratitude for the great mercy which the Lord God has shown to us in Christ.—Compare also the arrangement of the Catechism of Heidelberg, where the whole system of ethics is included in the article concerning gratitude. Conf. helv. ii. c. 15.: *Docemus cum Apostolo, hominem peccatorem justificari sola fide in Christum, etc.* The following definition is given in ch. 16.: *Fides humana non est opinio ac humana persuasio, sed firmissima fiducia et evidens ac constans animi assensus, denique certissima comprehensio veritatis Dei.....atque adeo Dei ipsius, summi boni et præcipue promissionis divinæ et Christi, qui omnium promissionum est colophon.*—Catech. Heidelbergers. Qu. 21.: *What is true faith? Answ. It is not only a certain knowledge by which I believe everything to be true which God has revealed to us in his Word, but also a cordial confidence wrought by the Holy Ghost in me through the Gospel, that God of his free mercy, and solely on account of the merits of Christ, has granted the pardon of sin, eternal righteousness and blessedness not only to others, but also to myself.*

⁽⁵⁾ Confess. Remonstrant. 18. 3. and Apolog. Conf. Rem. p. 112. a. (quoted by Winer p. 97.): *Justificatio est actio Dei, quam Deus pure pure in sua ipsius mente efficit, quia nihil aliud est, quam volitio aut decretum, quo peccata remittere et justitiam imputare aliquando vult iis, qui credunt, i. e. quo vult pœnas peccatis eorum promeritas iis non infligere eosque tamquam justos tractare et præmio afficere.* The *Socinians* also regarded justification as a legal transaction. Catech. Racov. Qu. 433. (ibid.): *Justificatio est, cum nos Deus pro justis habet, quod ea ratione*

facit, cum nobis et peccata remittit et nos vita æterna donat. Comp. *Socinus* de just. (Opp. ii. p. 603.) : *Duplici* autem ratione amovetur peccatum : vel quia non imputatur ac perinde habetur ac si nunquam fuisset, vel quia peccatum ipsum revera aufertur, nec amplius peccatur.....What he says further on : *Utraque* hæc amovendi peccati ratio in justificatione coram Deo nostra conspicitur, might lead us to think, that he identified sanctification and justification, but in the sequel he distinctly separates them : Ut autem cavendum est, ne, ut hodie plerique faciunt, vitæ sanctitatem atque innocentiam effectum justificationis nostræ coram Deo esse dicamus, sic diligenter cavere debemus, ne ipsam sanctitatem atque innocentiam justificationem nostram coram Deo esse credamus, neve illam, nostræ coram Deo justificationis causam efficientem aut impulsivam esse affirmemus, sed tantummodo causam, sine qua eam justificationem non contingere, decrevit Deus. The difference between justificatio and obedientia is so defined, that by the former we are to understand the remissio peccatorum, and by obedientia the condition of justification.

(6) *Ries*, Conf. Art. 21. : Per vivam fidem acquirimus veram justitiam i. e. condonationem seu remissionem omnium tam præteritorum quam præsentium peccatorum, ut et veram justitiam, quæ per Jesum cooperante Spir. Sancto abundanter in nos effunditur vel infunditur, adeo ut ex malis.....fiamus boni atque ita ex injustis revera justi.—*Barclay*, Apol. 7. 3. p. 128. does not understand by justificatio good works as such, or as the effects of the Holy Spirit in us, but the *formatio Christi in nobis*, the new birth, which at the same time consists in sanctification ; for it is *realis interna animæ renovatio*, in the case of those qui Christum in ipsis formatum habent, integrum eum et indivisum possident.

(7) *Limborch* Theol. chr. vi. 4. 22 :...Sine operibus fides mortua et ad justificationem inefficax est. 4. 31. Comp. Conf. Remonstr. xi. 1 ss. and Apol. Confess. p. 113. (quoted by *Winer* p. 102.) According to *Socinus* (de justif. in the Biblioth. Fratr. Pol. Tom. ii. p. 601 ss.) faith implies obedience to the divine commandments. “ *If they advance anything else concerning justifying faith.....they have borrowed it from Roman Catholic theologians.*” [?] *Möhler* p. 634. For the views of the Mennonites concerning justification, see *Ries* Confess. Art. 29. : Fides

.....debet comitata esse amore Dei et firma confidentia in unum Deum.

(⁸) *Schyn*, plen. deduct. p. 232. (quoted by Winer p. 107.): Non credimus bona opera nos salvare, sed agnoscimus bona opera pro debita obedientia et fructibus fidei. *Socinus* also asserted, that good works, though necessary, are not meritorious (non sunt meritoria) de justif. p. 603.

§ 251.

FLUCTUATIONS WITHIN THE DENOMINATIONS THEMSELVES.

Differences of opinion, however, obtained among Protestant theologians themselves. Thus, *Andrew Osiander* represented justification and sanctification as forming only *one act*,⁽¹⁾ and as regards the relation in which good works stand to faith, the views of *Nicholas Amsdorf* were diametrically opposed to those of *George Major*. The latter asserted that good works contributed towards salvation, while the former maintained, that they are productive rather of evil than of good.⁽²⁾ Both the Lutheran and Calvinistic mystics attached (like the Quakers) great importance to sanctification, and were strongly opposed to that kind of theology which represented justification as an external, legal transaction.⁽³⁾

(¹) In the two disputations which he held, A. D. 1549 and 1550, in his treatise: *de unico mediatore* 1551, and in various sermons. He maintained, that what was called justification by orthodox theologians, should be more properly designated *redemption*. In his opinion, the signification of *δικαιοῦν* is to "make just;" it is only by metonymy that it can mean "to pronounce a person just." Comp. Planck iv. p. 249 ss. Tholuck's *Anzeiger* 1833. No. 54. 55. He was opposed by *Francis Staphylus*, *Mörlin*, and others.

(²) Compare his treatise: *dass die Propositio, gute Werke sind*

schädlich zur Seligkeit, eine rechte sei, reprinted in S. Baumgarten's *Geschichte der Religionsparteien*, p. 1172–78. Amsdorf speaks, in the first instance, of those works by which men hope to deserve salvation; but even those works which are the fruit of faith are imperfect, on account of sin, and would condemn us before the judgment-seat of Christ, if God did not condescend to accept them for the sake of faith in Christ. In his opinion there was no medium between that which is *necessary* to salvation, and that which *does harm*. “Though the dialectical proof of this inference or consequence should come short of being complete, which, however, it does not, it can satisfactorily be established on theological grounds.” But it is especially “on account of monks and hypocrites that it is necessary to adhere to this proposition, though it may give offence to reason and to philosophy.” Amsdorf admits that they may be the “*manifestations and evidences of faith*,” “for as long as there exists faith, there exist also good works, and when we commit sin, we do not lose salvation, because *we have previously lost it by unbelief*.” Comp. Planck iv. p. 469 ss.

(³) At an early period *Schwenkfeld* maintained that the tendency of Luther's doctrine was to seduce common people into errors and carnal liberty. He admitted that the doctrine (concerning faith and good works) was true in a certain sense, and to a certain extent, but he thought that it might easily be perverted so as to lead to belief in the mere letter of Scripture, and to moral indifference. Comp. Planck v. 1. p. 83 ss. *J. Böhm* (von der Menschwerdung Christi, vol. ii. c. 7. §. 15. quoted by Umbreit p. 51.) said: “The hypocritical Babylon now teaches: Our works deserve nothing, Christ has redeemed us from death and hell, we must *believe* it, in order to be saved. Dost thou not know, Babylon, that the servant who, knowing his master's will, does not fulfil it, will be beaten with many stripes? Knowledge without correspondent actions is like a fire which glimmers, but cannot burn, because the fuel is moist. If thou wilt have thy fire of faith burn, thou must blow upon it, and free it from the moisture of the devil and of hell; thou must enter into the life of Christ, and perform his commandments,” etc.—Though *Arnd* adhered more firmly than Böhm to the fundamental principles of Lutheranism, he always urged the necessity of *love* which is

founded upon faith (see the passages quoted from his "wahres Christenthum," in Hagenbach's Vorlesungen vol. iii. p. 377-79.) *Poiret* called faith which manifests itself especially as an uncharitable spirit of opposition, *military* faith. (Ibid. iv. p. 327.)

§ 252.

THE ECONOMY OF REDEMPTION.

The fundamental principles laid down in the symbolical books, were more fully developed by theologians, especially by those of the Protestant Church, so as to form a definite *economy of redemption*. After God has called the sinner (*vocatio*), and man obeyed that call (*auditio*), the Divine Spirit begins his work (*operationes Spiritus*.) These operations follow each other in definite succession, viz., 1. *Illuminatio*; 2. *Conversio* (*pœnitentia*); 3. *Sanctificatio* (*renovatio*); 4. *Perseverantia*; 5. *Unio mystica cum Deo*. Theologians, however, did not quite agree as to the precise order of these operations.⁽¹⁾ On the contrary, the mystics, and the so-called pietists, discarded all those scholastic definitions, and had a system and terminology of their own on this subject.⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ Compare the works of the orthodox Protestant theologians; de Wette, Dogmatik p. 151 ss. Hase, Hutterus redivivus p. 287 ss. where passages are quoted from the writings of earlier divines.

⁽²⁾ The theory of the economy of salvation was established on account of, and in opposition to the pietists. See de Wette p. 151. For their views concerning the so-called *Theologia irrogenitorum*, and the economy of salvation, see Planck, Geschichte der protestantischen Theologie p. 223 ss. The pietists asserted that the regeneration of man commences with a change taking place in his volitions; their opponents maintained that the illu-

mination of the understanding was the first step.—Nor was it easy precisely to define the idea of the economy of salvation, and inasmuch as no reference was made to it in the symbolical books, theologians entertained different views. On the controversy between the theologians of Leipsic and Wittenberg on the one hand, and those of Tübingen and Helmstädt on the other (which had its origin in the assertion of *Justus Feuerborn*, that an approximation of the Divine substance to the human takes place), comp. *Walch*, *Religionsstreitigkeiten der evangelisch. luther. Kirche* iii. p. 130 ss.

THIRD SECTION.

THE DOCTRINES CONCERNING THE CHURCH AND
HER MEANS OF GRACE, CONCERNING SAINTS,
IMAGES, THE SACRIFICE OF THE MASS, AND
PURGATORY.

§ 253.

INTRODUCTION.

The differences respecting the formal,⁽¹⁾ as well as the material principle,⁽²⁾ which constitute Roman Catholicism on the one hand, and Protestantism on the other, are intimately connected with the views concerning the Church and her means of grace, concerning the forms of worship, especially the mass and the sacrifice of the mass, and concerning the connection subsisting between the latter and the state of the dead (purgatory); or, more properly speaking, those views are the necessary consequences of the principles referred to. But Protestants and Roman Catholics were agreed in preserving the historico-positive element of Christianity, though they differed as to extent and manner, and in retaining external and legal forms. On the other hand, the sects, rejecting more or less arbitrarily the historical developement, and the social nature of Christianity, exposed themselves to all the evils of separatism, either by means of barren reflection, or of fantastical mysticism.⁽³⁾

(1) Wherever the so-called *abuses* of the Roman Catholic Church are mentioned in the symbolical writings of the Protestants, they are principally rejected because they are either not founded upon Scripture, or are directly opposed to it.

(2) The contrast between *faith* and *works* (the internal and the external) manifests itself even in the doctrines in question. Where Protestants suppose an invisible order of things, Roman Catholics adopt the external form which strikes the senses; where the former seek means of grace, the latter find *opera operata*, etc.

(3) Endless divisions and disruptions are the common fate of all sects. Another thing common to them all is the disregard they manifest to all that is *symbolical* in the form of worship. Either they despise it altogether, as being only calculated to captivate the senses, or they regard it as a vain ceremony.— While Protestantism was in some respects favourable to a development of such notions, it also included powerful principles of an opposite tendency, which gave rise to the development of forms of worship and of ecclesiastical polity. The Calvinists endeavoured to lay an entirely new foundation, while the Lutherans preferred the erection of a new building on the existing basis.

§ 254.

THE CHURCH AND ECCLESIASTICAL POWER.

The former difference between the external and internal perception of the idea of church was more fully developed by the conflicts between Romanism and Protestantism. According to Roman Catholics, the church consists in the visible society of all those who, by their baptism, pledge themselves to the adoption of a certain external creed, the use of the same sacraments, and who acknowledge the Pope as their common head.⁽¹⁾ Protestants assert that the church consists in the invisible association of all those who are united by the bonds of true faith; in their opinion,

this ideal union is but imperfectly represented by the visible church.⁽²⁾ In the view of the former, individuals come to Christ through the church; in the view of the latter, they come to the church through Christ.⁽³⁾ This difference respecting a fundamental principle is connected with the different opinions entertained by Protestants and Roman Catholics concerning ecclesiastical power and the hierarchy. Protestants not only reject papacy, and all the gradation of ecclesiastical dignities, in the Roman Catholic sense, but, proceeding from the idea of the spiritual priesthood of all Christians, regard the clergy not, like their opponents, as an order of men specifically distinct from the laity, but as the body of the teachers and servants of the church, who, being divinely called and properly appointed, possess certain ecclesiastical rights, and have to perform certain duties which they derive partly from divine, partly from human law.⁽⁴⁾ But they did not carry their opposition to the Romish hierarchy so far as the Anabaptists and Quakers, who rejected not only the order of priests, but also that of *instructors*, and made the right of teaching in the church depend on *internal* vocation alone.⁽⁵⁾

(1) After the example of Augustine (in his controversy with the Donatists), the Roman Catholics maintained, that the Church militant^a is composed of the good and the wicked. See Confess. August. Confut. c. 7. and Cat. Rom. i. 10. 7. It is in Bellarmin's treatise: *de Ecclesia milit.* in particular that this doctrine is very fully developed, c. 2.: *Nostra sententia est, ecclesiam unam tantum esse, non duas, et illam unam et veram esse cœtum hominum ejusdem christianæ fidei professione et eorundem sacra-*

^a The distinction which Roman Catholics make between *ecclesia militans* and *triumphans*, has reference to this world, and to that which is to come, while the distinction made by Protestants between the *visible* and *invisible* church, has reference to this world only.

mentorū communione colligatum, sub regimine legitimorum pastorū ac præcipue unius Christi in terris vicarii, romani pontificis. Ex qua definitione facile colligi potest, qui homines ad ecclesiam pertineant, qui vero ad eam non pertineant. Tres enim sunt partes hujus definitionis. Professio veræ fidei, sacramentorum communio et subjectio ad legitimum pastorem, romanum pontificem. Ratione primæ partis excluduntur omnes infideles, tam qui nunquam fuerunt in ecclesia, ut Judæi, Turcæ, Pagani, tam qui fuerunt et recesserunt, ut hæretici et apostatæ. Ratione secundæ excluduntur catechumeni et excommunicati, quoniam illi non sunt admissi ad sacramentorum communionem, isti sunt dimissi. Ratione tertię excluduntur schismatici, qui habent fidem et sacramenta, sed non subduntur legitimo pastori, et ideo foris profitentur fidem et sacramenta percipiunt. Includuntur autem omnes alii, etiamsi reprobī, scelesti et impii sunt. Atque hoc interest inter sententiam nostram et alias omnes, quod omnes aliæ requirunt internas virtutes ad constituendum aliquem in ecclesia et propterea ecclesiam veram invisibilem faciunt; nos autem et credimus in ecclesia inveniri omnes virtutes, fidem, spem, caritatem et ceteras, tamen ut aliquis aliquo modo dici possit pars veræ ecclesiæ, de qua scripturæ loquuntur, non putamus requiri ullam internam virtutem, sed tantum externam professionem fidei et sacramentorum communionem, quæ sensu ipso percipitur. Ecclesia enim est cœtus hominum ita visibilis et palpabilis, ut est cœtus populi romani vel regnum Galliæ aut respublica Venetorum.

(2) Conf. Aug. Art. 7 : Est ecclesia congregatio sanctorum, in qua evangelium recte docetur et recte administrantur sacramenta. Apol. Confess. Aug. p. 144 ss. : Et catholicam ecclesiam dicit [articulus ille in Symbolo], ne intelligamus, ecclesiam esse politiam externam certarum gentium, sed magis homines sparsos per totum orbem, qui de evangelio consentiunt, et habent eundem Christum, eundem Spiritum Sanctum, et eadem sacramenta, sive habeant easdem traditiones humanas, sivi dissimiles.—p. 148 : Neque vero somniamus nos Platoniam civitatem, ut quidem impie cavillantur, sed dicimus existere hanc ecclesiam, videlicet vere credentes ac justos sparsos per totum orbem. Confess. Bas. i. Art. 5 : “ We acknowledge a holy, Christian church, *i. e.*, the communion of saints, the spiritual assembly of believers, which is holy, and an

offspring of Christ, of which all those are citizens who truly confess that Jesus is the Christ, the Lamb of God, which takes away the sins of the world, and who give evidence of their faith by works of love." Conf. helv. ii. c. 17 : Oportet semper fuisse, esse et futuram esse ecclesiam, *i. e.* e mundo evocatum vel collectum cœtum fidelium, sanctorum inquam omnium communionem, eorum videlicet, qui Deum verum in Christo servatore per Verbum et Spiritum Sanctum vere cognoscunt et rite colunt, denique omnibus bonis per Christum gratuito oblatis fide participant.....Illum docemus veram esse ecclesiam, in qua signa vel notæ inveniuntur ecclesiæ veræ, imprimis vero verbi divini legitima vel sincera prædicatio. Conf. Gall. Art. 27. Belg. 27 : Credimus unicam ecclesiam catholicam seu universalem, quæ est congregatio sancta seu cœtus omnium vere fidelium christianorum, qui totam suam salutem in uno Jesu Christo expectant, sanguine ipsius abluti et per spiritum ejus sanctificati atque obsignati. *Sancta hæc ecclesia certo in loco non est sita vel limitata, aut ad certas singularesque personas alligata, sed per totum mundum sparsa atque diffusa.*—Comp. Angl. 19. Scot. 16. The doctrine concerning the church is most ably and acutely developed by *Calvin* Instit. iv. 1 ss. Comp. Henry vol. ii. p. 90 ss. The *Arminians* (Limborch Theol. vii. 1. 6.) and Meunonites adopted substantially the same principles as the Calvinists. Ries. Conf. Art. 24. Concerning the views of Quakers and Socinians, see Winer p. 168. The latter, in particular, attached little importance to the doctrine concerning the church. See *Socinus* Opp. T. i. 3. : Quod si dicas, ad salutem necessarium esse, ut quis sit in vera Christi ecclesia, et propterea necessarium simul esse, ut veram Christi ecclesiam inquirat et agnoscat, negabo consecutionem istam..... Nam simul atque quis Christi salutarem *doctrinam* habet, is jam vel reipsa in vera Christi ecclesia est, vel ut sit, non habet necesse inquirere, quænam sit vera Christi ecclesia, id enim.....jam novit. From this he infers : quæstionem de ecclesia, quænam, sive apud quos sit, quæ hodie tantopere agitur, vel inutilem prope modum esse, vel certe non esse necessariam. The principle : *extra ecclesiam nulla salus* was also retained by the Protestant Church, though in a somewhat different sense. Com. Winer p. 169.

(3) Thus *Calvin*, l. c. laid some stress on the phraseology of

the Apostles' Creed, where it is not said, *credo in ecclesiam*, like *credo in Deum*, in *Christum*, but simply *credo ecclesiam*.

(⁴) On the connection between the Roman Catholic notion of the priestly office and the sacrifice of the mass, see Concil. Trident. Sess. 23. c. 1. On the other side, Apol. Confess. Aug. p. 201 : *Sacerdotum intelligunt adversarii non de ministerio verbi et sacramentorum aliis porrigendorum, sed intelligunt de sacrificio, quasi oporteat esse in Novo Testamento sacerdotium simile Levitico, quod pro populo sacrificet et mereatur aliis remissionem peccatorum. Nos docemus, etc.....Ideo sacerdotes vocantur, non ad ulla sacrificia velut in lege pro populo facienda, ut pea ea mereantur populo remissionem peccatorum, sed vocantur ad docendum evangelium et sacramenta porrigenda populo. Luther expressed himself on this subject as follows : Every Christian man is a priest, and every Christian woman a priestess, whether they be young or old, master or servant, mistress or maid-servant, scholar or illiterate. Opp. Altenb. i. fol. 522.....All Christians are, properly speaking, members of the ecclesiastical order, and there is no difference between them, except that they hold different offices. (1 Cor. xii.) By baptism we are all made priests. (1 Pet. ii.) Papal or Episcopal ordination can render men only hypocrites and oil-idoters [Germ. Oelgötzen.].....Not only those "who are anointed and have received the tonsure" are priests, but every one who is baptized may consider himself an ordained priest, bishop, and pope, *though it does not belong to every one to exercise the duties belonging to such offices. For, though we be all priests, none must take upon himself, without being commissioned and approved of by ourselves, to do that to which we all possess equal rights.....The office of a Christian minister ought not to be different from that of a bailiff. While he is in office he has the precedence before others ; but when he is removed from office, he is a peasant or citizen like every body (he has not a character indelebilis.) Nor are women excluded from the general priesthood of Christians, but they must not teach publicly (1 Cor. xiv.) But all derive their priestly office from Christ, the sole high priest. Comp. Luther de Capt. Babyl. and his treatise : von der Winkelmesse und der Pfaffenweihe (Wittenb. edit. vii. p. 433 ss.) The distinction made by Protestants between *sacerdotium* and *ministerium* is very ably set forth in**

the Confess. helv. ii. art. 18: Deus ad colligendam vel constituendam sibi ecclesiam, eandemque gubernandam et conservandam, semper usus est ministris, iisque utitur adhuc, et utetur porro, quoad ecclesia in terris fuerit. Ergo ministrorum origo, institutio et functio vetustissima et ipsius Dei, non nova aut hominum est ordinatio. Posset sane Deus sua potentia immediate sibi adungere ex hominibus ecclesiam, sed maluit agere cum hominibus per ministerium hominum. Proinde spectandi sunt ministri, non ut ministri duntaxat per se, sed sicut ministri Dei, utpote per quos Deus salutem hominum operatur.....Rursus tamen et hoc cavendum est, ne ministris et ministerio *nimum* tribuamus..... Diversissima inter se sunt sacerdotium et ministerium. Illud enim commune est christianis omnibus, ut modo diximus hoc non item. Nec e medio sustulimus ecclesiæ ministerium, quando repudiavimus ex ecclesia Christi sacerdotium papisticum. Equidem in novo testamento Christi non est amplius tale sacerdotium, quale fuit in populo vetere, quod unctionem habuit externam, vestes sacras, etc.....quæ typi fuerunt Christi, qui illa omnia veniens et adimplens abrogavit. In addition to piety, it is especially *theological knowledge* by which the teachers of the church must be distinguished from the laity: Eligantur autem non quilibet, sed homines idonei, eruditione justa et sacra, eloquentia pia, prudentiaque simplici, denique moderatione et honestate vitæ insignes.....Damnamus ministros ineptos, et non instructos donis pastori necessariis. As regards the right to officiate as a minister, it is necessary, also, in the Protestant Church, to be rite vocatus^a): Nemo autem honorem ministerii ecclesiastici usurpare sibi, *i. e.* ad se largitionibus, aut ullis artibus, aut arbitrio proprio, rapere debet. Vocentur et eligantur electione ecclesiastica et legitima ministri ecclesiæ, *i. e.* eligantur religiose ab ecclesia vel ad hoc deputatis ab ecclesia, ordine justo et absque turba, seditionibus et contentione. For further passages quoted from other symbols, see Winer p. 175.

⁽⁵⁾ Barclay, Theol. christ. Apol. thes. 10: Sicut dono et gratia seu lumine Dei omnis vera cognitio in rebus spiritualibus recipitur et revelatur, ita et illo, prout manifestatur et in intima cordis receptum est, per ejus vim et potentiam unusquisque verus evan-

^a On the different views of Lutherans and Calvinists (*Ordinatio vaga*) respecting ordination, see the Canon law.

geli minister constituitur, præparatur et suppeditatur in opere ministerii, et hoc movente, ducente et trahente oportet evangelistam, pastorem christianum, duci et mandari in labore et ministerio suo evangelico, et quoad loca, ubi, et quoad personas, quibus, et quoad tempora, quando ministraturus est. Porro, qui hujus habent auctoritatem, possunt et debent evangelium annunciare, licet humanis mandatis carentes et humanæ literaturæ ignari. **E** contra vero, qui hujus divini doni auctoritate carent, quamquam eruditione et scientia præditi et ecclesiarum mandatis et hominum auctoritate ut plurimum pollentes, impostores tantum et fraudatores, non veri evangelii ministri seu prædicatores habendi sunt. Præterea, qui sanctum et immaculatum donum acceperunt, sicut gratis accepere, ita et gratis distributuri sunt absque mercede vel pacto stipendio, absit, ut eo utantur sicut arte ad lucrandam pecuniam, etc. (Women are also permitted to teach. Barclay, Comment. 27.)

The definitions concerning the relation in which the *church* stands to the *state*, depend on those concerning the nature of the church. According to Bellarmin's definition, before mentioned, the Roman Catholic Church constitutes a state quite as much as the Republic of Venice, etc. Accordingly, she is independent of every other (secular) state. The Protestants also maintained, that the church, as the kingdom of God, is independent of all secular power, and when they committed the government of the visible church into the hands of the state, they had not the intention of substituting for it that system of *cesaropapacy* subsequently established [in which the sovereign took the place of the pope.] In the history of the world, it was of the greatest importance, that the reformers, in an age so full of commotions, endeavoured to maintain the authority of secular power, as "an institution ordained by God," *first*, by securing it against the pretensions of the hierarchy which undermined the existence of every state; and, *secondly*, by an energetic opposition to the anarchical notions of the Anabaptists. Thus it happened that, in most confessions of faith, the article, de magistratu, was laid down as a politico-moral principle. And inasmuch as the reformers, at the same time, proceeded on the idea of a *Christian* government (analogous to the theocratic kings of the Old Testament), some, *e. g.*, *Zuinglius*, were of opinion, that the exercise of *ecclesiastical discipline* might be left to the magistrate, without making it necessary to have a distinct ecclesiastical court, while others, such as *Oecolampadius* and *Calvin*, retained the ecclesiastical institution of excommunication, but reduced it to its primitive apostolical form. Comp. Schröckh Kirchengeschichte seit der Reformation iii. p. 84. Henry Calvin ii. p. 97.—According to the first Confess. of Basle Art. 7. the Christian Church inflicts the punishment of excommunication "*only as a corrective, and gladly receives the excommunicated persons back into her fellowship, when they have amended their scandalous life.*" For further passages from the symbolical books of the Protestant Church see Winer p. 180. On the controversy begun by *Thomas Erastus* (Liebler) of Heidelberg, and the disputation which took place A. D. 1568, see *Beckhaus* über den Heidelberger Katechismus l. c. p. 99 ss. Athenæ raur. p. 428.

§ 255.

FURTHER DEVELOPEMENT OF THE DOCTRINE CONCERNING THE CHURCH.

Later Protestant theologians developed more fully the difference between *ecclesia visibilis* and *ecclesia invisibilis* (in addition to which that other difference between *ecclesia militans* and *eccles. triumphans* continued to exist.) The *ecclesia invisibilis* is either *universalis* (*i. e.* scattered through the world), or *particularis* (*i. e.* some church which has adopted a particular form.) The particular churches are either opposed to, or stand on friendly terms with, each other.⁽¹⁾ As regards the organization of the visible church (*ecclesia synthetica*), the Lutheran divines made a distinction between the *status ecclesiasticus*, the *status politicus*, and the *status oeconomicus*. Different views obtained among Calvinists;⁽²⁾ nor did they agree with the Lutherans as to the representation of the church (*ecclesia repraesentativa*.) But these formal distinctions were of less importance than the new life which *Spener* brought into the church, by restoring the Protestant doctrine of a spiritual priesthood,⁽³⁾ and the work which *Thomasius* performed by establishing the so-called territorial system.⁽⁴⁾ The mystics and enthusiasts offered, like the sects of the middle ages, a constant opposition to all ecclesiastical establishments, both Roman Catholic and Protestant.⁽⁵⁾

(1) The passages relative to this division are quoted from the works of the Protestant theologians by De Wette (*Dogmatik* p. 191 ss.) and Hase, *Hutterus redivivus* p. 320 ss.

(2) See Wendelin, Alsted, and Heidegger, quoted by De Wette l. c. p. 195.—For the different forms of church government (*e. g.*

the government of the church by consistories [in the Lutheran Church], Presbyterianism, Independency, etc.), see the Canon law.

(³) He advanced his views in his work entitled : *Das geistliche Priesterthum, aus göttlichem Wort kürzlich beschrieben und mit einem einstimmigen Zeugnisse gottseliger Lehrer bekräftigt.* Frankf. 1677. 8. (arranged in questions and answers), p. 7. Qu. 11. : Does the title of priest belong to none but preachers ? Answ. No ; preachers are not, properly speaking, priests, nor is that title applied to them in the New Test. ; but they are called servants of Christ, stewards of the mysteries of God, bishops, presbyters, servants of the gospel, of the Word of God, etc. The name priest is rather a name common to all Christians, nor does it belong to ministers in a different sense from that in which it belongs to other Christians. 12. But are not the priests alone the “ Geistlichen ?” [the word “ Geistlichen” is here to be taken in its primary signification, *i. e.* one who is spiritually minded ; its secondary meaning is : clergymen.] Answ. No ; for this title also belongs to every Christian (Rom viii. 5.)—Sacrificing, praying, and blessing, are priestly offices which every Christian may perform, and concerning which Christ alone possesses the dignity of high priest.—Nevertheless Spener admitted, like all Protestants, the necessity of the ministry. Qu. 26. Are all Christians ministers, and are all called upon to preach ? Answ. No ; it requires a particular vocation to fulfil the ministerial duties in the congregation, before all and *over* all its members ; therefore he who should of himself assume such power over others, and encroach upon the rights of the minister, would commit sin ; therefore teachers and hearers are different persons, etc. (On the other hand, the laity possess the unlimited right of searching the Scriptures. See § 243. note 7.)

(⁴) According to *Thomasius*, the reigning prince possesses the right of regulating the ecclesiastical affairs of his country, of banishing persons who disturb the peace of the church, etc. But he himself cannot be subject to ecclesiastical discipline. *Thomasius*, however, did not give his unqualified assent to the principle of *Hobbes* : *cujus regio, illius religio.* Comp. his treatise : *Von dem Recht evangelischer Fürsten in Mitteldingen oder Kirchen-ceremonien* ; it appeared 1692. in Latin, and was afterwards

translated into German; compare also the treatise entitled: *das Recht evangelischer Fürsten in theologischen Streitigkeiten* 1696, and some other works. See Schröckh *Kirchengeschichte seit der Reformation* vii. p. 541. and Luden l. c.

(5) Böhm, Kuhlmann, Gichtel, Labadie, Anna Schurmann, Poiret, and others, vied with each other in attacks upon the established church and her ministers. *Poiret* called the Theologia of the latter Theologia adulatoria seu culinaria. See Arnold iii. p. 166. *J. Böhm* heaped reproaches upon the priests of Baal, etc.

§ 256.

THE ADORATION OF SAINTS AND IMAGES.

The reformers combated the invocation and adoration of saints,⁽¹⁾ but the theologians of the Roman Catholic as well as the Greek Church retained this practice, and endeavoured to defend it either with the arguments brought forward at an earlier period by the scholastics,⁽²⁾ or to secure it against the charge of idolatry, by making use of idealistic interpretation.⁽³⁾ The same may be said with regard to the adoration of images and relics,⁽⁴⁾ as well as ecclesiastical ceremonies in general. In all these particulars Calvinists carried their opposition farther than Lutherans.⁽⁵⁾

(1) The Protestants did not teach that *there are no saints at all*, but only rejected their invocation. See Marheinecke *Symbolik* iii. p. 439. Conf. August. Art. 21: De cultu Sanctorum docent, quod memoria Sanctorum proponi potest, ut imitemur fidem eorum et bona opera juxta vocationem. Sed Scriptura non docet invocare Sanctos seu petere auxilium a Sanctis, quia unum Christum nobis proponit mediatorem, propitiatorium, pontificem et intercessorem. Hic invocandus est et promisit se exauditurum esse preces nostras, et hunc cultum maxime probat. Comp. Apol. p. 223. The Articles of Schmalkald use much stronger terms, p. 310.: *Invocatio Sanctorum est etiam pars absurda errorum*

Antichristi, pugnans cum primo principali articulo et delens agnitionem Christi.—Similar principles are laid down in the confessions of faith adopted by the Calvinists, Arminians, and Socinans; see Winer p. 47.

(²) Conc. Trid. Sess. 25: (Doceant episcopi) Sanctos una cum Christo regnantes orationes suas pro hominibus Deo afferre, *bonum atque utile esse*^a) suppliciter eos invocare et ob beneficia impetranda a Deo per filium ejus Jesum Christum, qui solus noster redemptor et salvator est, ad eorum orationes, opem auxili-umque confugere; illos vero, qui negant, Sanctos æterna felicitate in cœlo fruente*s* invocandos esse, aut qui asserunt, vel illos pro hominibus non orare, vel eorum, ut pro nobis etiam singulis orent, invocationem esse idololatriam, vel pugnare cum verbo Dei adversarique honore unius mediatoris Dei et hominum Jesu Christi, vel stultum esse, in cœlo regnantibus voce vel mente supplicare, impie sentire.—Concerning the *angels*, the Catech. Rom. 3, 2. 10. asserts: Invocandi sunt, quod et perpetuo Deum intuentur et patrocinium salutis nostræ sibi delatum libentissime suscipiunt. For the symbols of the Greek Church see Winer p. 44-46. The Roman Catholic also retained the distinction made by the scholastics between *invocatio* and *adoratio*.

(³) This was done *e. g.* by *Bossuet*, Exposition de la doctrine de l'église cath. p. 19: The Church, in teaching us the utility of addressing prayers to the saints, commands us to invoke them in the same spirit, and in accordance with the same law of society which induces us to seek assistance from our brethren upon earth.....p. 27.: It is in this manner that we honour the saints, in order to obtain by their intercession all the graces of God; the principal grace which we hope to obtain is that by which we shall be enabled to imitate them; to this we are also excited by the contemplation of their admirable examples, and by the honourable mention of their blessed memory which we make before God. Those who will consider the doctrine which we propound, will be compelled to acknowledge that we neither take from God any of those perfections which are essential to his infinite essence, nor ascribe to created beings any of those qualities or operations which belong to none but God himself; there is therefore such a great difference between us and idolaters, that it is difficult to

^a Hence the invocation of saints is not made a *necessary condition of salvation*.

perceive why our opponents give us that name.....p. 30. And lastly, no Roman Catholic ever thought that the saints of themselves know our wants, nor even the desires on account of which we address to them secret prayers. The Church has been content to teach, in accordance with all antiquity, that such prayers are very useful to those who offer them, whether the saints may hear of them by the medium of the ministry and intercourse of the angels, who, according to Scripture, know what happens among men.....whether God himself make known our wishes to them by means of a particular revelation, or, lastly, manifest our secret desires in his infinite essence, which comprehends all truth. Thus the Church has decided nothing as to the different means which God is pleased to use for this purpose.

(⁴) Comp. Winer p. 47 ss. where the passages bearing upon this point are quoted from the symbolical writings.

(⁵) *Luther's* sermon against the Iconoclasts of Wittenberg.— Similar principles to those adopted by Luther were defended by *Schmid* in the disputation of Zurich; but his views were rejected. During the period of the Interim, the Lutheran Church returned to many of the ceremonies of the Romish Church, that which gave rise to the *Adiaphoristic* controversy.—The minor sects followed the example of the Reformed Church.

§ 257.

THE SACRAMENTS.

The doctrine of *seven sacraments*, which both the Greek and Romish Churches confirmed,⁽¹⁾ was rejected by the reformers, who admitted as scriptural only *two sacraments*, viz., those of baptism and of the Lord's Supper.⁽²⁾ These two, together with the Word of God,⁽³⁾ constituted, in their opinion, the means of grace (*adminicula gratiæ*) which profit only believers;⁽⁴⁾ on the contrary, the theologians of the Roman Catholic Church asserted the efficacy of the sacraments *ex opere operato*.⁽⁵⁾ But both Roman Catholics and Protestants

agreed as to the necessity of sacraments (in opposition to Quakers),⁽⁶⁾ and their higher significance as the medium by which spiritual blessings are communicated (in opposition to Arminians, Mennonites, and Socinians, who regard them as mere ceremonies).⁽⁷⁾

⁽¹⁾ Conc. Trid. Sess. 7. can. 1: Si quis dixerit sacramenta sacræ legis.....esse plura vel pauciora, quam septem, videlicet baptismum, confirmationem, eucharistiam, pœnitentiam, extremam unctionem, ordinem et matrimonium, aut etiam aliquod horum septem non esse vere et proprie sacramentum: anathema sit.—The reasons why the number seven is fixed upon are more fully developed in Catech. rom. ii. 1. 20. quoted by Winer p. 123. where their respective dignity is also determined ii. 1. 22: Sacramenta non parem omnia et æqualem necessitatem aut dignitatem habent, atque ex iis tria sunt, quæ, tametsi non eadem ratione, tamen præ ceteris necessaria dicuntur, baptismus, pœnitentia, ordo; verum si dignitas in sacramentis spectetur, eucharistia sanctitate et mysteriorum numero ac magnitudine longe cæteris antecellit. Conf. orth. p. 154: Ἐπτὰ μυστήρια τῆς ἐκκλησίας· τὰ ὁποῖα εἶναι ταῦτα· τὸ βάπτισμα, τὸ μύρον τοῦ χρίσματος, ἡ εὐχαριστία, ἡ μετάνοια, ἡ ἱερωσύνη, ὁ τίμιος γάμος καὶ τὸ εὐχέλαιον· ταῦτα τὰ ἑπτὰ μυστήρια ἀναβιβάζονται εἰς τὰ ἑπτὰ χαρίσματα τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. The Greeks, however, considered baptism and the Lord's Supper the principal sacraments, to which some added penance. Comp. Winer p. 124.

⁽²⁾ The two catechisms of Luther and the Conf. Aug. treat only of two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's Supper, without excluding the other five. *Melancthon* even admitted (Apol. p. 167): absolutio proprie dici potest sacramentum. *Luther* also spoke of three sacraments de Captiv. Babyl.: Baptismus, Pœnitentia, Panis. On the contrary, in the Catech. major p. 549. penance is included in baptism. Apol. Conf. p. 200: Sed hic [adversarii] jubent nos etiam septem sacramenta numerare. Nos sentimus præstandum esse, ne negligentur res in ceremoniæ in Scripturis institutæ, quotcunque sunt. Nec multum referre putamus, etiamsi docendi causa alii numerent aliter, si tamen recte conservent res in Scriptura traditas.—Greater importance is attached to the number two in the symbolical wri-

tings of the Reformed Church. Confess. Bas. i. Art 5. § 2.: In this Church we use only two sacraments, viz. baptism, by which we are received into the Church, and the Lord's Supper in after life, as a testimony of faith and brotherly love, according to our promise in baptism.—Conf. helv. ii. c. 19: Novi populi sacramenta sunt baptismus et cœna dominica. Sunt qui sacramenta novi populi septem numerent. Ex quibus nos poenitentiam, ordinationem ministrorum, non papisticam quidem illam, sed apostolicam et matrimonium agnoscimus *instituta esse Dei utilia, sed non sacramenta*. Confirmatio et extrema unctio *inventæ sunt hominum*, quibus nullo cum damno carere potest ecclesia. Comp. Conf. Gall. Art. 35. Belg. 33. Angl. 25. The Arminians also had only two sacraments. The Mennonites made mention of the washing of feet as a usage instituted by Christ (according to John xiii.); but *Ries* Conf. Art. 30. spoke only of two sacraments. Comp. Winer p. 124.

(³) In the opinion of Protestants, the Sacred Scriptures are not only the source of knowledge, but the Word of God contained in them is a living and quickening principle. Both the law and the gospel have each their peculiar *ἐνέργεια*, the former that of bringing men to the knowledge of sin, the latter that of being the medium through which grace is bestowed on them (Art. of Schmalk. p. 319.) The Catech. rom. (iv. 13. 18.) also speaks of the Word of God as a *cibus animi*, and places it on the same level with the sacraments, but understands by it the *prædicatio verbi* sanctioned by the Church rather than the *Scriptures*.

(⁴) Confess. August. p. 11.: Per verbum et sacramenta, tanquam per instrumenta donatur Spir. S. qui fidem efficit, ubi et quando visum est Deo, in iis qui audiunt evangelium, etc. Comp. Cat. maj. p. 426. Art. Smalc. p. 331. Form. Concord. p. 670.—Conf. helv. ii. cap. 1. Belg. 24.—Heidelberger Catechismus Qu. 65: Whence cometh (justifying) faith? Answ. The Holy Spirit produces it in our hearts by the preaching of the gospel, and confirms it by the use of the sacraments. On the contrary, the Roman Catholic doctrine met with decided opposition. Confess. Aug. p. 13.: *Damnant illos, qui docent, quod sacramenta, ex opere operato justificent, nec docent fidem requiri in usu sacramentorum, quæ credat remitti peccata*. Apol. p. 203: *Damnamus totum populum scholasticorum doctorum, qui docent,*

quod sacramenta non ponenti obicem conferant gratiam *ex opere operato*, sine bono motu utentis. Hæc simpliciter judaica opinio est, sentire, quod per ceremoniam justificemur, sine bono motu cordis, *h. e.* sine fide. At sacramenta sunt *signa* promissionum. Igitur in usu debet accedere fides. Loquimur hic de fide speciali, quæ præsentî promissioni credit, non tantum, quæ in genere credit, Deum esse, sed quæ credit offerri remissionem peccatorum:—Helv. ii. c. 19: neque vero approbamus istorum doctrinam, qui docent, gratiam et res significatas signis ita alligari et includi, ut quicumque signis exterius participant, etiam interius, gratiæ rebusque significatis participes sint, qualesquales sint. Minime probamus eos, qui sanctificationem sacramentorum attribuant nescio quibus characteribus et recitationi vel virtuti verborum pronuntiatorum a consecratore et qui habeat intentionem consecrandi.—But Protestant theologians also taught that the *integritas* of the sacrament did not depend on the dignity either of the person who administers it, or of him who receives it. Conf. Helvet. l. c.

(⁵) Conc. Trid. Sess. 7. can 8: Si quis dixerit, per ipsa novæ legis sacramenta ex opere operato non conferri gratiam, sed solum fidem divinæ promissionis ad gratiam consequendam sufficere, anathema sit.—The further developement of this doctrine by Bellarmin de sacram. ii. 1. is given by Winer p. 125.

(⁶) The Quakers reject both the idea and the name of a sacrament. They only acknowledge spiritual baptism and a mystical Lord's Supper. *Barclay* Apol. xii. 12. quoted by Winer p. 120.

(⁷) See the passages quoted by Winer p. 122. 23. and compare the following §. The difference referred to may (after the example of Winer) be so defined, that, in the opinion of Roman Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, *God bestows* something on man by the medium of the sacrament, while those sects taught that *man renders* something to God (or gives evidence of something to men *before* God.) The latter view is nearly allied to that of *Zuinglius*. He was at least far from regarding the sacraments as means of grace in the manner *e. g.* of the Conf. Aug. Comp. de vera et falsa relig. p. 231.: Sunt sacramenta signa vel *ceremoniæ* (pace tamen omnium dicam sive neoterico-rum sive veterum), quibus se homo ecclesiæ probat aut candida-

tum aut militem esse Christi, redduntque ecclesiam totam potius certiolem de tua fide, quam te ; si enim fides tua non aliter fuerit absoluta, quam ut *signo ceremoniali* ad confirmationem egeat, fides non est : fides enim est, qua nitimur misericordiæ Dei inconcusse, firmiter et indistracte, ut multis locis Paulus habet.—Comp. Fidei Rat. ad Carol. V. : Credo omnia sacramenta tam abesse, ut gratiam conferant, ut ne offerant quidem aut dispen- sent.....Credo, sacramentum esse sacræ rei *h. e. factæ gratiæ* signum.—Klare Unterrichtung vom Nachtmahl Christi (Works ii. 1.) p. 429 : A sacrament is the sign of a sacred thing..... Now the priests well knew that this word " Sacrament " denotes nothing but a sign, nevertheless they left the simple-minded in the mistaken idea, that it was something else, or something very precious, which they (the simple-minded) did not understand, but were induced to believe that the sacrament was God himself.

§ 258.

THE SACRIFICE OF THE MASS. THE LORD'S SUPPER.

Lavater, L., Historia controversiæ sacramentariæ. Tigur. 1563, 1672. *Hospiniani, H.*, Historia sacramentaria, Tigur. 1598, 1602. ii. f. 1611. 4. The Works of *Luther* (*Walch*, vol. xvii. xx.)

While the reformers made common cause in their opposition to both the doctrine of transubstantiation,⁽¹⁾ and the Romish notion of the sacrifice of the mass,⁽²⁾ either of which they rejected as unscriptural, they widely differed in their opinions concerning the positive aspect of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Different interpretations of the words pronounced by our Saviour at the institution of this sacrament were, in short intervals of time, advanced by *Carlstadt*,⁽³⁾ *Zwinglius*,⁽⁴⁾ *Oecolampadius*,⁽⁵⁾ and *Schwenkfeld*.⁽⁶⁾ *Luther* combated them all, adhering himself to the letter of Scripture, both in his controversial writings,⁽⁷⁾ and in the *colloquium of Marburg* (1529. Oct.),⁽⁸⁾ as firmly as to any of the fun-

damental principles of Christianity. In accordance with his views the authors of the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church declared the doctrine of the *real presence* of Christ's body and blood in the Eucharist (*Consubstantiation*), and along with it that of the *ubiquity* of his body as the orthodox doctrine of the Church.⁽⁹⁾ This doctrine could not be reconciled with that of the Reformed Church, notwithstanding the modifications introduced by *Calvin*. For though he pointed out the sacramental character, and together with it the more profound mystical significance of the Lord's Supper more distinctly than *Zuinglius*, according to his own interpretation it is the *believer* only who partakes in a *spiritual* manner of Christ's body existing in *heaven*.⁽¹⁰⁾ On the contrary, *Luther*, from the objective point of view, maintained that infidels also partook of the body of Christ *in, with, and under the bread*, though they do it to their own hurt. The most prosaic view is that of the Socinians, Arminians, and Mennonites, who, in connection with their more negative opinions on the nature of the sacraments, regard the Lord's Supper merely as an act of commemoration.⁽¹¹⁾ And lastly, the Quakers believed that in consequence of their intimate and spiritual union with Christ, they might dispense with the participation of his body.⁽¹²⁾

⁽¹⁾ *Luther* combated the doctrine of transubstantiation both in his treatise de Captiv. Babyl., and in his controversy with Henry VIII., who defended the scholastic doctrine. (Comp. Walch xix.) Nor did the authors of the symbolical books differ from him concerning this point; Act. of Schm. p. 330. :.....De transsubstantiatione subtilitatem sophisticam nihil curamus, qua fingunt, panem et vinum relinquere et amittere naturalem suam substantiam et tantum speciem et colorem panis et non verum panem remanere.—Form. Conc. p. 729. : Extra usum dum reponitur aut asservatur (panis vel hostia) in pyxide aut ostenditur

in processionibus, ut fit apud Papistas, sentiunt non adesse corpus Christi. p. 760. : Negamus elementa illa seu visibiles species benedicti panis et vini adorari oportere.—Comp. Conf. helv. ii. Art. 21. (p. 74. Aug.) On the other side, Conc. Trid. Sess. 13. cap. 4.....denuo hoc sancta synodus declarat, per consecrationem panis et vini conversionem fieri totius substantiæ panis in substantiam corporis Christi, et totius substantiæ vini in substantiam sanguinis ejus, quæ conversio convenienter et proprie a sancta catholica ecclesia *transsubstantiatio* est appellata. Comp. Cat. rom. ii. 4. 37. Bellarmin controv. de sacram. euch. iii. 18–24.

(2) It was not only the theology of the reformers, but also the common sense of the people, which opposed *the sacrifice of the mass*, as well as the adoration of images. At least in Switzerland these two points were closely connected with each other; thus at the second disputation of Zurich (Zuinglii Opera. Schulthess i. p. 459 ss.) Among the many works either for or against the mass, compare, *e. g.*, the following: ob die Mess ein Opfer sey, beyder parteyen Predicanten zu Basel antwurt uff erforschung eins Ersamen radts eingelegt, 1527. (The adherents of the Reformation were headed by Oecolampadius.)—“*No part of the Roman Catholic doctrine has met with more violent opposition on the part of the Reformers, than the mass, which is rejected in the symbolical writings of the Lutherans, as well as the Reformed Church, not only in strong terms, but even with expressions of abhorrence.*” Winer p. 148. To the mass as such, Luther and his followers did not object. “The nearer,” said *Luther*, “our masses are to the first mass of Christ, the better they will be; the greater the distance is between them, the more pernicious they are.” (Sermon von dem N. Test. 1520.) We meet with similar language in the symbolical writings of the Lutheran Church, *e. g.* the Confess. Aug: p. 23. : Falso accusantur ecclesiæ nostræ, quod Missam aboleant, retinetur enim Missa apud nos, et summa reverentia celebratur. Servantur et usitatae ceremoniæ fere omnes, præterquam quod latinis cantionibus admiscuntur alicubi germanicæ, quæ additæ sunt ad docendum populum. On the contrary, the *sacrifice* of the mass, and the abuses to which it gave rise, such as private masses, masses for the dead, etc., were rejected, p. 25. : Accessit opinio, quæ auxit pri-

vatas Missas in infinitum, videlicet, quod Chr. sua passione satisfecerit pro peccato originis, et instituerit Missam, in qua fieret oblatio pro quotidianis delictis, mortalibus et venialibus. Hinc manavit publica opinio, quod Missa sit opus delens peccata vivorum et mortuorum ex opere operato.....De his opinionibus nostri admonuerunt, quod dissentiant a scripturis sanctis et lædant gloriam passionis Christi. Nam passio Christi fuit oblatio et satisfactio, non solum pro culpa originis, sed etiam pro omnibus reliquis peccatis.....Jam si Missa delet peccata vivorum et mortuorum ex opere operato, contingit justificatio ex opere Missarum, non ex fide, quod Scriptura non patitur. Comp. Apol. 250. 69. Art. Sm. p. 305. : quod Missa in papatu sit maxima et horrenda abominatio et hostiliter e diametro pugnans contra articulum primum, quæ tamen præ omnibus aliis Pontificiis idololatriis summa et speciosissima fuit. Form. Conc. p. 602. In the symbolical writings of the Reformed Church the mass is entirely rejected, nor a distinction made between earlier and later masses. Heidelberger Catechism. Qu. 80.....Hence the mass is in reality nothing but a denial of the one sacrifice of Christ, and an execrable idolatry. Conf. helv. ii. c. 21. : Missa, qualis aliquando apud veteres fuerit, tolerabilis an intolerabilis, modo non disputamus : hoc autem libere dicimus, Missam, quæ hodie in usu est per universam romanam ecclesiam, plurimas et justissimas quidem ob causas in ecclesiis nostris esse abrogatam.—On this subject the symbolical writings of the Roman Catholic Church express themselves as follows, Conc. Trid. Sess. 22. can. 1. : Si quis dixerit, in missa non offerri Deo verum et proprium sacrificium, aut quod offerri non sit aliud, quam nobis Christum ad manducandum dari, anathema sit.....Can. 3. : Si quis dixerit, Missæ sacrificium tantum esse laudis et gratiarum actionis, aut nudam commemorationem sacrificii in cruce peracti, non autem propitiatorium, vel soli prodesse sumentis, neque pro vivis et defunctis, pro peccatis, pœnis, satisfactionibus et aliis necessitatibus offerri dehere, anathema sit. Bellarmin Controv. de euch. lib. 5. and 6., the principal passages of which are quoted by Winer p. 148.—In the Confess. orthod. of the Greek Church, p. 165. the Eucharist is called *ἀναίμακτος θυσία*. For further definitions see Winer p. 149. The fuller developement of the arguments advanced by Roman Catholic theologians, especially Bellarmin,

in support of the idea of a sacrifice, will be found in Marheinecke, *Symbolik* iii. p. 351 ss. ; of particular interest are their exegetical arguments, *e. g.*, that derived from the phrase : *hoc facite* in *memoriam meam*, where they maintain that *facere* is sometimes used in the sense of sacrificing, analogous to the Hebrew word עָשָׂה (Exod. xxix. 41. ; Numb. xv. 3. ; Ps. lvi. 15.) ; or that derived from the history of Melchisedec, where they assign to the word הִזְבִּיחַ the meaning of sacrificing, because it is translated ἐξήνεγκε (obtulit) by the LXX. Marheinecke *l. c.* p. 377. 78.

(3) *Carlstadt* thought that the words used by our Saviour at the institution of the Eucharist were to be understood δεικτικῶς (*i. e.*, that Christ in pronouncing them had pointed to his body.) Comp. Walch, vol. xv. p. 2422 ss. xx. p. 186 ss. Göbel, *M.*, an essay in the *Studien und Kritiken* 1841. part 1.^a

(4) At an early period *Zuinglius* asserted, in his work entitled : *Christenliche Ynleitung* 1523. that the Eucharist was nothing more than food for the soul, and had been instituted by Christ only as an act of commemoration, and visible sign of his body and blood. Comp. his works (edit. of Schuler) vol. i. p. 563. 64. He afterwards developed his views more fully in the letter addressed to Matth. Alber, in the subsid. de Eucharistia, which forms an appendix to his *Comment. de vera et falsa religioni* (1525), and is to be compared with his treatise : *Klare Unterrichtung vom Nachtmahl Christi* (1526) ; in the treatise : *amica exegesis, i. e., expositio eucharistici negotii ad M. Luther* (1527) ; in the work : *dass diese Worte Jesu Christi "das ist myn lychnam, etc.," ewiglich den alten eynigen Sinn haben werdend, etc.*, and in several other controversial writings (*e. g.* that wider des Doctor Strussen Büchlin), comp. his works, Schuler's edit. *deutsche Schriften* ii. 2. and iii. Opp. lat. iii. 1. In defence of his opinion that ἐστὶ is to be taken in the meaning of "significat," he appeals to the numerous figurative expressions in Scripture, some of which Berengar had previously adduced in support of his theory ; but he also added many others, *e. g.*, John xix. 20. not

^a In the opinion of *Zuinglius* the views of *Carlstadt* were correct in the main, but "he did not shew himself very skilful in the interpretation of the word τοῦτο, which he evidently misunderstood," and "on the whole he was rather unhappy in his expressions." See his treatise : *Wider des Dr Strussen Büchlin* in Schuler's edit. of his works ii. 1. p. 479.

to mention more. The objection made by his opponents, that his theory lowered the dignity of the Lord's Supper, he met by shewing, that such a belief would be no more derogatory to that ordinance, than the use of natural water to that of baptism; on the contrary, the opposite view was calculated to detract from the dignity of Christ. But how well Zuinglius was acquainted with the higher *religious* significance of the Lord's Supper, may be seen from his *Fidei Ratio ad Carol. Imp.*: Credo, quod in sacra eucharistiæ, h. e. gratiarum actionis cœna, *verum Christi corpus adsit fidei contemplatione*. Sed quod Christi corpus per essentiam et realiter h. e. corpus ipsum naturale in cœna aut adsit aut ore dentibusque nostris manducetur, quemadmodum Papistæ et quidam, qui ad ollas Aegyptiacas respectant, perhibent, id vero non tantum negamus, sed errorem esse, qui verbo Dei adversatur, constanter adseveramus.—It must be admitted that his works contain but few passages of so positive a character, because the principal task of his life was rather to oppose the false and erroneous notions of his age; but that great reformer and martyr has too often been charged with that cold sobriety which is more becoming in a critic.

(5) The interpretation adopted by *Oecolampadius* differed only grammatically from that of Zuinglius. He retained the literal meaning of ἐστὶ, but took the predicate τὸ σῶμά μου in a figurative sense. In his opinion it is not the *expression*, but the *idea* itself, which is to be understood figuratively. Comp. his treatise: *de verborum Domini, h. e. corpus meum, juxta vetustissimos auctores expositione liber*, 1525, a book full of admirable thoughts and acute reasoning!—*John Brenz* and *Erhard Schnepf* opposed his views in the “*Syngramma Suevicum*,” to which he replied in his *Antisyngramma* (*de dignitate Eucharistiæ sermones duo*, 1526.) He further engaged in a controversy with *Pirkheimer*, *Billican*, and *Luther* himself. Compare also: *Quid de eucharistia veteres tum Græci, tum Latini senserint, Dialogus, in quo Epistolæ Philippi Melanchthonis et J. Oecolampadii insertæ, auctore Joan. Oecolampadio*, 1530. 8.

(6) By doing violence to the rules of grammar (*viz.*, by inverting the order of subject and predicate) *Schwenkfeld* and *Krautwald* made out this sense: My body which is given for you, is the very thing I distribute among you, *viz.*, bread, a veritable

meal, and the efficacious means of preserving eternal life. As analogous instances they adduced : the seed, which is the Word of God, the field, which is the world, the rock, which was Christ. Comp. Planck v. 1. p. 90. Schwenkfeld's notion, however, did not spread any farther, and was connected with his own views on christology, rather than with the general developement of the doctrine in question.

(7) On the earlier conflicts of *Luther*, by which he was tempted to adopt the symbolical interpretation, see his letter to the Christians of Strassburg (quoted by De Wette ii. p. 577.) In his treatise: *Vom Anbeten des Sacraments, an die böhmischen Brüder* 1523. (Walch xix. p. 1593) he refuted not only the doctrines of transubstantiation, and of the sacrifice of the mass, but also the theory of a mere symbol, as well as that of a purely spiritual participation. Comp. Gieseler iii. 1. p. 189. After the last two theories had found many supporters among the adherents of the Reformation, Luther zealously opposed (at first in letters addressed to several persons, *e.g.* Reutlinger, quoted by De Wette iii. p. 70.) those "who will now teach us, that in the sacrament of the altar there is nothing but bread and wine, and not the very body and blood of Christ," and directed attention to the differences obtaining among them as to the interpretation of the words of our Saviour. Afterwards he combated the "sacramentarians, enthusiasts," etc. in his "Sermon von dem Sacrament des Leibs und Bluts Christi" (published towards the close of the year 1526), in his treatise "dass die Worte Christi: das ist mein Leib, etc. noch fest stehen, etc." and above all in his "Grosses Bekenntniss," published 1528 (all these works will be found in Walch xx.) Luther rested his theory on the literal interpretation of the words of our Saviour, which, in his opinion, is alone admissible.^a: "For we are not such fools as not to understand those words. If they are not clear, I do not know how to talk German. Am I not to comprehend what is meant, when a person puts a loaf of bread before me, and says: Take, eat, that is a loaf of bread? and again, Take, drink, that is a glass of wine? In the same manner, when Christ says: Take,

^a In his letter addressed to the Christians of Strassburg he said: "The language is too forcible to be deprived of its obvious meaning by mere reasoning."

eat, that is my body, every child must understand that he speaks of that which he gives to his disciples." (Walch xx. p. 918.) In accordance with this literal interpretation, Luther taught the *real presence of Christ's body in the bread* (consubstantiation), though he defended himself against the charge of *impanation*, which had been brought forward by his opponents: "We poor sinners are not so foolish as to believe that the body of Christ exists in the bread in the same visible manner in which bread is in the basket, or wine in the goblet, as the enthusiasts would lay to our charge, in order to deride our foolishness. That the Fathers and we also speak in this manner, is simply because we believe that Christ's body is present; otherwise we are quite willing that any one should say: Christ is *in* the bread, or is *the* very bread, or is *there*, where the bread is, or as he likes. We will not quarrel about words, but merely insist upon keeping to the literal meaning, viz., that it is not simply bread of which we partake in the Lord's Supper, but the body of Christ." (Walch l. c. p. 1012.)—In the same place he adverts to the fact, that God has other means by which he can enable one thing to be in another than those commonly known to us, such as wine being in the barrel, bread in the basket, money in the pocket. Thus Levi was in the loins of Abraham (Hebr. vii. 5.), heaven and earth may be in man's eye, etc. Comp. his "Grosses Bekenntniss," p. 1186. A thing may be present localiter (circumscriptive), definitive, repletive. But Christ is always present in the bread in a supernatural manner, and can only be perceived by faith: "How it takes place, thou canst not know, but thy heart perceives him, and by faith thou art convinced of his presence." (Walch xx. p. 922. and many other passages.) On the *ubiquity* of Christ's body, which Luther did not propound till a later period of his life, see § 265 ss. Comp. *Rettberg*, Occam and Luther (in *Studien und Kritiken* 1839. part 1.) It is alike unjust to charge *Zuinglius* with cold sobriety, and to maintain that Luther's profound and dynamic interpretation of the sacrament, which on that very account was less perspicuous and intelligible, had its origin in nothing but partial stupidity or stubbornness. The opinion which each of these reformers entertained concerning the sacrament, was most intimately connected with his whole religious tendency, which, in its turn, stood in

connection with the different developement of the churches which they respectively founded.

(⁸) On the colloquium of Marburg comp. *Schmitt, L. J. K.*, das Religionsgespräch zu Marburg 1829. and *Gieseler*, Kirchengesch. iii. 1. p. 236. where the literature and the documents are given.

(⁹) Conf. A. p. 12: De cœna Domini docent, quod corpus et sanguis Christi vere adsint et distribuuntur vescentibus in cœna Domini, et improbant secus docentes. Comp. Apol. p. 157. Art. of Schmalk. p. 330: De sacramento altaris sentimus, panem et vinum in cœna esse verum corpus et sanguinem Christi, *et non tantum dari et sumi a piis, sed etiam ab impiis christianis.*—Cat. maj. p. 553: Quid est itaque sacramentum altaris? Est verum corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi *in et sub* pane et vino per verbum Christi nobis christianis ad manducandum et bibendum institutum et mandatum.—Form. Conc. p. 599: Credimus, quod in cœna Domini corpus et sanguis Christi vere et substantialiter sint præsentia, et quod una cum pane et vino vere distribuuntur atque sumantur. Credimus, verba testamenti Christi non aliter accipienda esse, *quam sicut verba ipsa ad litteram sonant*, ita, ne panis absens Christi corpus et vinum absentem Christi sanguinem significant, sed ut propter sacramentalem unionem panis et vinum vere sint corpus et sanguis Christi.—Comp. p. 736: Docent, quemadmodum in Christo duæ distinctæ et non mutatæ naturæ inseparabiliter sunt unitæ, ita in sacra cœna duas diversas substantias, panem videlicet naturalem et verum naturale corpus Christi, in instituta sacramenti administratione hic in terris simul esse præsentia. Further on, its authors protest against the assertions of their opponents, p. 604.: Prorsus rejicimus atque damnamus capernaiticam manducationem corporis Christi, quam nobis sacramentarii contra suæ conscientiæ testimonium post tot nostras protestationes malitiose affingunt, ut doctrinam nostram apud auditores suos in odium adducant, quasi videlicet doceamus, corpus Christi dentibus laniari et instar alterius cujusdam cibi in corpore humano digeri. Credimus autem et asserimus secundum clara verba testamenti Christi *veram*, sed *supernaturalem* manducationem corporis Christi, quemadmodum etiam vere, *supernaturaliter* tamen, sanguinem Christi bibi docemus. Hæc autem humanis sensibus aut ratione nemo comprehendere potest, quare in hoc negotio, sicut et in aliis fidei

articulis, intellectum nostrum in obedientiam Christi captivare oportet. Hoc enim mysterium in solo Dei verbo revelatur et sola fide comprehenditur.

⁽¹⁰⁾ *Prior* to the time of Calvin, *Martin Bucer*, *Oswald Myconius*, and others, spoke of the *spiritual participation* of Christ's body, which is present in heaven, an idea with which Zuinglius was by no means wholly unacquainted, but which is less prominently brought forward in his writings than the negative side of the question (see note 4.) Therefore the Conf. Tetrapolitana (1530) admits "a true partaking of the real body and blood of Christ" in terms so definite, that it scarcely differs from the Conf. August. In the first confession of Basle (1534), in the composition of which Calvin had no share, it is also said: But we firmly believe that *Christ himself is the meat of believing souls unto everlasting life*, and that our souls, by means of true faith in the crucified Redeemer, receive the body and blood of Christ as their meat and drink..... Hence we confess that Christ, in his holy Supper, *is present* to all who really believe in him.—On the other hand, it is also very significantly added: But we do not include the natural, true, and essential body of Christ, which was born of the Virgin, suffered for us, and is ascended into heaven, in the bread and wine of the Eucharist, etc. And the second confession of Basle (Helv. i.) A. D. 1536. Art. 22. asserts: *cœnam mysticam esse, in qua Dom. corpus et sanguinem suum, i. e. se ipsum suis vere ad hoc offerat, ut magis magisque in illis vivat et illi in ipso: non quod pani et vino corpus Domini et sanguis vel naturaliter uniantur vel hic localiter includantur vel ulla huc carnali præsentia statuatur; sed quod panis et vinum ex institutione Domini symbola sint, quibus ab ipso Domino per ecclesiæ ministerium vera corporis et sanguinis ejus communicatio non in perituum ventris cibum, sed in æternæ vitæ alimoniam exhibeatur.*—*Calvin* not only perfectly agreed with these fundamental principles, though he had at first taken offence at the view of Zuinglius,^a and designated it *profana sententia*, but also developed them more fully. Comp. *Instit.* iv. 17. 10. and *Henry* i. p. 127 ss. While *Zuinglius* lays prin-

^a In a letter addressed to Viret (quoted by Schlosser, *Pet. Martyr* p. 451. note.) On the question whether Calvin, as Planck supposes, held at first the opinion of Luther but abandoned it afterwards, see *Bretschneider* in *Reformatoren-Almanach* iii. p. 81 and *Henry*, i. p. 262.

cipal stress upon the historical fact, and the idea of an act of commemoration, Calvin attaches greater importance to the intimate union of the believers with Christ; thus, in his opinion, the Lord's Supper is not only an act to commemorate a past event, but also the pledge and seal of something that is present. As bread and wine sustain our earthly body, so the body and blood of Christ nourish and refresh our spiritual nature. But further on it is said: *Cogitemus primum spirituale quiddam esse sacramentum, quo Dom. non ventres nostros, sed animas pascere voluit. Ac Christum in eo quæramus, non nostro corpore, nec ut sensibus carnis nostræ comprehendi potest, sed sic ut anima velut præsentem sibi datum et exhibitum agnoscat. Denique ipsum spiritualiter obtinere satis habemus.* Compare with this his treatise: *de cœna*, quoted by Henry i. p. 261 ss. and the *conf. fidei de eucharistia, quam obtulerunt Farellus, Calvinus et Viretus, cui subscripserunt Bucerus et Capito, 1537*, quoted by Henry i. Appendix No. 5. In the earlier part of this *conf.* Calvin appears to entertain views allied to those of Luther: *Vitam spiritualem, quam nobis Christus largitur, non in eo duntaxat sitam esse confitemur, quod spiritu suo nos vivificat, sed quod spiritus etiam sui virtute carnis suae vivificæ nos facit participes, qua participatione in vitam æternam pascamur. Itaque cum de communione, quam cum Christo fideles habent, loquimur, non minus carni et sanguini ejus communicare ipsos intelligimus quam spiritui, ut ita totum Christum possideant*, etc. On the other side he pronounces, in terms equally strong, in favour of the symbolical interpretation: *Caeterum istis nihil repugnat, quod Dominus noster in cœlum sublatus, localem corporis sui præsentiam nobis abstulit, quæ hic minime exigitur. Nam utcunque nos in hac mortalitate peregrinantes in eodem loco cum ipso non includimur et continemur, nullis tamen finibus limitata est ejus spiritus efficacia, quin vere copulare et in unum colligere possit quæ locorum spatiis sunt disjuncta. Ergo spiritum ejus vinculum esse nostræ cum ipso participationis agnoscimus, sed ita ut nos ille carnis et sanguinis Domini substantia vere ad immortalitatem pascat et eorum participatione vivificet. Hanc autem carnis et sanguinis sui communionem Christus *sub panis et vini symbolis* in sacrosancta sua cœna offert et exhibet omnibus, qui eam rite celebrant juxta legitimum ejus institutum.—*

Bucer and *Capito* indeed protested against the appellation *nuda et inania symbola*, as applied to the bread and wine, and denounced such usage as an error which the church ought to reject; but *Zuinglius* had never made use of the expression “*nuda et inania symbola*.”—In opposition to *Westphal*, a pastor in *Hamburgh* (1552) *Calvin* defended the idea of a merely *spiritual* presence in the strongest terms.

However slightly *Zuinglius* and *Calvin* differed respecting this point, the inhabitants of *Zurich* at first looked with some degree of diffidence upon the theory of the latter (*Lavater*, *histor. sacram.* p. 98.) But the *agreement* between the churches of *Zurich* and *Geneva* manifested itself in the *Consens. Tigur.* where it is said, No. 21.: *Tollenda est quælibet localis præsentia imaginatio. Nam quum signa hic in mundo sint, oculis cernantur, palpentur manibus: Christus, quatenus homo est, non alibi quam in cælo, nec aliter quam mente et fidei intelligentia quærendus est. Quare perversa et impia superstitio est, ipsum sub elementis hujus mundi includere.* 22. Proinde, qui in solemnibus cœnæ verbis: *Hoc est corp. m.* etc., præcise literalem, ut loquuntur, sensum urgent, eos tamquam præposteros interpretes repudiamus. Nam extra controversiam ponimus, figurate accipienda esse, ut esse panis et vinum dicantur id quod significant.—*Comp. also Conf. Gall. Art. 36. Helv. ii. c. 21. Belgica 35. Anglica 94. Scot. 21.* In some Calvinistic symbols the positive element is prominently brought forward, but something is always added in order to prevent any close approach to the Lutheran view. Thus it is said in the *Catech. Heidelb. Qu. 76.*: What do ye understand by eating the crucified body of Christ, and drinking the blood which he shed on the cross? *Answ.* By this we understand not only that we recognize with a believing heart the sufferings and death of Christ, but *also*, that by the influence of the Holy Ghost, who dwells at the same time in Christ and in ourselves, we are so intimately united to his blessed body, that although *he be in heaven and we on earth*, we are flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone, and derive eternal life from, and are governed by, *one spirit* (as the members of our body are governed by *one soul*.)—*Confess. Sigism. c. 8.*...Therefore we simply abide by the words pronounced by Christ at the institution of this ordinance, viz. that the bread is his true body,

and the wine his true blood, sacramentally, *i. e.* in the manner in which God has ordained and instituted the holy sacraments of both the Old and the New Test., that they should be visible and true signs of the invisible grace communicated by them; and in the manner in which our Lord himself signifies, that *the holy Eucharist is a sign of the new testament (covenant), but not a mere sign, nor an empty one*, and instituted for the commemoration of Christ's death.....that thus it *might afford us consolation, excite us to gratitude, and call forth in us feelings of love.* And inasmuch as faith is, as it were, the mouth by which we receive the crucified body of Christ, and the blood shed for us, we always believe that this sacrament does not unfit *unbelievers, or those who do not repent*, and that they do not participate *in the true body and blood of Christ.* For further passages see Winer p. 138 ss.

⁽¹¹⁾ Cat. Rac. qu. 334.: (Cœna Domini) est Christi institutum, ut fideles ipsius panem frangant et comedant et ex calice bibant, mortis ipsius annunciandæ causa. Quod permanere in adventum ipsius oportet. Ip. qu. 335.: (Annunciare mortem Domini) est publice et sacrosancte Christo gratias agere, quod is pro ineffabili sua erga nos caritate corpus suum torqueri et quodammodo frangi et sanguinem suum fundi passus sit, et hoc ipsius beneficium laudibus tollere et celebrare. Ib. qu. 337: Nonne alia causa, ob quam cœnam instituit Dom. superest? Nulla prorsus, etsi homines multas excogitarint, cum alii dicant esse sacrificium pro vivis et mortuis, alii usu ipsius se consequi peccatorum remissionem et firmare fidem sperant, et quod eis mortem Domini in mentem revocet, affirmant. Comp. Socinus de cœna Domini p. 753. 6. where the effects commonly supposed to be produced by the sacrament are ascribed to the *word*, with which the ceremony is only externally connected.—Concerning the views of the Arminians see Confess. Remonstrant. 23. 4. and *Limborch*, theol. christ. v. 71. 9 ss. (where he combats the doctrine of the Lord's Supper as held by orthodox Calvinists.) The opinions of the Mennonites on this point will be found in *Ries Conf. Art. 34.* Winer p. 135.

⁽¹²⁾ Comp. § 257. note 7.

The doctrinal differences of the various denominations are closely connected with their respective modes of celebrating this ordinance. The principal difference is this, that the Roman Catholic Church persisted in withholding the cup from the

laity, while all other parties, inclusive of the Greek Church, demanded that it should be restored to them. (See the passages quoted from their symbolical writings by Winer p. 145-147.) On the use of the hosts (in the Roman Catholic and Lutheran Churches, partly also in the Reformed Church), and on that of bread (in the Greek and Reformed Churches), on the breaking of the bread, on the elevation of the host, on the manner in which the congregation receive the sacrament (whether they go to the table, or remain in their seats), on the modes distributionis, or private communion, auricular or general confession, etc., comp. the works on archæology and those on liturgies.

§ 259.

INTERNAL FLUCTUATIONS AND FURTHER DOCTRINAL DEVELOPEMENT.

Though the existing differences of opinion rendered impossible a perfect union between the various sections of the Protestant Church, there were not wanting those who on the one hand may be styled *Crypto-Calvinists*,⁽¹⁾ and on the other *Crypto-Lutherans*.⁽²⁾ But the existence of these parties gave rise to increased efforts on the part of the orthodox theologians in either church to establish a more precise definition of their distinguishing doctrines, and to secure them against corruption and misinterpretation. The schoolmen made a three-fold distinction in the Lord's Supper, viz., between *material*, *form*, and *object*, which were again subdivided according to various categories.⁽³⁾ The mystics, abiding by the mysterious import of the doctrine in question, took no part in the ecclesiastical controversies;⁽⁴⁾ some of them even showed that each of the principal sections of the church rests on a religious idea, the living appropriation of which is, in their opinion, the principal thing in this ordinance, whatever meaning may be attached to it.⁽⁵⁾ Among Roman Catholic writers it was *Bossuet* who endeavoured to defend, on philosophical grounds, the doctrine of transubstantia-

tion and of the mass,⁽⁶⁾ while the *Jansenists* and Roman Catholics rigidly retained the doctrine of the church. But they directed their attention not so much to dialectical arguments for the mere idea, but to the mysterious effects which the sacrament in question produces upon the internal man.⁽⁷⁾

(1) Compare § 215. note 7.

(2) *Marbach of Strassburg*, and *Simon Sulzer* of Basle. The latter was opposed by H. Erzberger. Comp. Hagenbach, *Geschichte der Basler Confess.* p. 87 ss. The very remarkable creeds of Sulzer and Erzberger are given *ibid.* appendix C. p. 232. and appendix B. p. 218 ss.

(3) The material is (a) *terrestris* (the elements bread and wine); (b) *cœlestis*, which is subdivided into *a.* corpus et sanguis Christi, *β.* gratia divina; 2. The form is (a) *interna* (*unio sacramentalis*), (b) *externa*, which is composed of *a.* consecratio, *β.* distributio, *γ.* sumptio; 3. *Finis* (*fructus*) est collatio et obsignatio gratiæ divinæ. This object is subdivided into (a) *finis ultimus* (*salus æterna*); (b) *intermedius*, (*a*) recordatio et commemoratio mortis Christi, quæ fide peragitur, (*β*) obsignatio promissionis de remissione peccatorum et fidei confirmatio, (*γ*) insitio nostra in Christum et spiritualis nutritio ad vitam, (*δ*) dilectio mutua communicantium. See Hase, *Hutterus redivivus* p. 314–15. Among the Calvinistic theologians see Heidegger, *Loci* xxv. p. 13 ss.

(4) Thus Paracelsus, *Phil. Sagac. Lib. i. c. 5. § 10. comp. ii. 2.* quoted by *Preu*, *Theol. des Paracelsus* p. 1; he there speaks rather of an internal (mystical) communion, than of a real participation of the elements. The regenerate must be nourished by Christ, and not only obtain the art and wisdom of nature, as we gather pears from the trees, but receive wisdom from him who has sent it. Respecting Christ, it is said, we must eat his flesh, and drink his blood, that is, we must be born of him; he is the first-born, but we fill up the number.

(5) Thus Poiret, in his treatise: *Gewissensruhe.* See Hagenbach, *Vorlesungen* vol. iv. p. 326.

(6) *Exposition de la doctrine catholique* c. 10 ss. In his opi-

nion, there is no medium between the view of infidels who reject everything, and the orthodox doctrine of the church. Every other view is of itself inconsistent; God has suffered the Protestants to fall into such an inconsistency, in order to facilitate their return to the Romish Church. The figurative interpretation, however, may be admitted in a certain sense (as implied in the real), p. 140: Nevertheless, the truth which the Eucharist contains in its internal aspect, does not prevent its being considered a sign of the external and tangible; but it is a sign of that sort which, so far from excluding the reality, necessarily implies it.

(7) Concerning the views of the Jansenists comp. § 228. note 3. On the controversy respecting the Lord's Supper, between *Peter Nicole* and *Anton Arnauld*, on the one side, and *Claude*, a Calvinistic minister, on the other, see Schröckh vii. p. 367. Among the mystics similar opinions obtained to those of the preceding period. Thus *Francis of Sales* said Introd. ii. 14. : Hoc (sacramentum) religionis christianæ centrum est, devotionis cor, pietatis anima, mysterium ineffabile, quodque divinæ charitatis abyssum in se comprehendit, ac per quod se Deus ipse realiter nobis applicans, gratias et dona sua nobis magnifice communicat. Comp. Bonæ tract. ascet. de sacrificio Missæ (Opp. p. 177 ss.) *Fénélon*, œuvres spirit. i. p. 414.

As regards the other Roman Catholic sacraments (respecting baptism see § 269.), their fundamental principles are considered by Protestant theologians in various parts of their works on systematic theology; thus, *penance* is treated of in connection with the economy of redemption, though some of the earlier Lutheran divines placed it after the chapters on Baptism and the Lord's Supper (e. g., Hollaz p. 1141); the sacrament of *Holy Orders*, in connection with the doctrine concerning the church, that of *Matrimony* forms a part of ethics and the Canon Law, while some, e. g., Gerhard, still assigned to it a place in doctrinal theology (loci theol. Tom. xv.); and lastly, the sacraments of *confirmation* (which has nothing in common with the Protestant rite of the same name), and of *extreme unction*, are only considered in a negative aspect, viz., as sacramenta spuria, see Heidegger Loci xxv. c. 23 ss.

As regards *penance*, the Roman Catholic Church retained the scholastic division into contritio (different from attritio) cordis, confessio oris and satisfactio operis, while the only distinction made by Protestants was that between contritio and fides. Comp. Concil. Trid. Sess. 14. c. 3., and in defence of the Protestant view Conf. Aug. Art. 12: Constat autem pœnitentia proprie his duabus partibus: Altera est contritio seu terrores incussi conscientiæ agnito peccato. Altera est fides, quæ concipitur ex evangelio seu absolute, et credit propter Christum remitti peccata, et consolatur conscientiam, et ex terroribus liberat. Deinde sequi debent opera bona, quæ sunt fructus pœnitentiæ. Art. Schmalk. p. 321. and the other passages quoted by Winer p. 150. Respecting *confession*, the two great sections of the Protestant Church differed in this, that the earlier Lutherans attached importance to private confession,

while the Calvinists were always satisfied (as a general rule) with public confession. But neither of them demanded, like Roman Catholics, a special enumeration of all sins, in consequence of which, both rejected auricular confession. It was especially Luther, in his treatise: *de Captiv. Babyl.* together with the authors of the articles of Schmalkald, who expressed themselves in strong terms against this *confessio carnificina*. Art. Schmalk. p. 323: *Confessio sic instituabatur, ut homines juberentur omnia sua peccata enumerare, (quod factu impossibile est) haec ingens carnificina fuit. Et si quis quorundam peccatorum oblitus esset, is eatenus absolvebatur, ut si in memoriam illa recurrerent, ea postea confiteretur, etc.* As to the relation between the confessor, and the person who confesses, the Roman Catholics entertained different views from the Protestants; see Winer l. c. and the passages quoted by him. As regards *satisfactio*, Protestants from the first not only rejected pilgrimages and similar observances, but also looked on prayers, fastings, and alms, in a very different light. Concerning *fasting*, see Winer p. 155. The *nova obedientia* which some would have substituted for the *satisfactio operis*, is, properly speaking, the same with *fides* (the second part of penance); nevertheless it is said in the *Apol. Conf.* p. 165: *Si quis volet addere tertiam [partem], videlicet dignos fructus pœnitentiæ, h. e. mutationem totius vitæ ac morum in melius, non refragabimur.* The Protestant theologians further distinguished between 1. *Pœnitentia prima (magna)*; 2. *Continuata (quotidiana)*; 3. *Iterata (lapsorum)*; 4. *Sera (quæ fit ultimis vitæ momentis.)* The question whether the last kind was admissible or not, gave rise to a controversy with the Pietists. Comp. Hase, *Hutterus redivivus* p. 294. Concerning the *sale of indulgences* in the Roman Catholic Church, and the various modifications of the theory of indulgences (which had their origin in the opposition made by the Reformers) see Winer, p. 159. Respecting the other sacraments (confirmation, matrimony, extreme unction, holy orders) see *ibid.* p. 160 ss. The differences of opinion among Protestants and Roman Catholics, as to the validity and dissolubility of matrimony (*divortium*), prohibited degrees of relationship, the marriage of the clergy, the vow of chastity (in connection with monachism), resulted from differences in fundamental principles. (For the respective passages see Winer l. c.) Comp. *Klee*, *Dogmengeschichte* vol. ii.

§ 260.

THE DOCTRINE CONCERNING PURGATORY.

In connection with the doctrine of the mass and its efficacy,⁽¹⁾ the Romish Church maintained the existence of a *purgatory* to which the souls of all those pious persons depart who die without having made full satisfaction for their sins, and out of which they may be delivered by means of *private masses* and *indulgences*.⁽²⁾ Not only the Protestants unanimously rejected this unscriptural doctrine,⁽³⁾ but also the Greek theologians,

though they admitted the notion of an *intermediate state* of the departed.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Conc. Trid. Sess. 22. cap. 2: Non solum pro fidelium vivorum peccatis, pœnis, satisfactionibus et aliis necessitatibus, sed et pro defunctis et in Christo nondum ad plenum purgatis, rite juxta Apostolorum traditionem, offertur. Comp. c. 9. can. 3: Si quis dixerit, Missæ sacrificium.....non pro defunctis offerri debere, anathema sit.

(2) Ibid. Sess. 6. can. 30. but especially Sess. 25. Cat. Rom. i. 6. 3: Est purgatorius ignis, quo piorum animæ ad definitum tempus cruciatæ expiantur, ut eis in æternam patriam ingressus patere possit, in quam nihil coinquinatum ingreditur. Ac de hujus quidem doctrinæ veritate, quum et scripturarum testimoniis et apostolica traditione confirmatam esse sancta concilia declarant, eo diligentius et sæpius parrocho disserendum erit, quod in ea tempora incidimus, quibus homines sanam doctrinam non sustinent. Comp. Bellarmin, de amiss. grat. et statu peccati i. c. 14. p. 116. de justific. v. 4. p. 1084. Bossuet, exposit. 8. p. 72. made but slight mention of purgatory, and bestowed praise upon the Council of Trent on account of the great caution with which it expressed itself concerning this point.

(3) Art. Sm. p. 307: Purgatorium et quidquid ei solennitatis, cultus et quæstus adhæret, mera diaboli larva est. Pugnat enim cum primo articulo, qui docet, Christum solum et non hominum opera animas liberare.—Conf. helv. ii. c. 26: Quod quidam tradunt de igne purgatorio, fidei christianæ: credo remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam, purgationique plenæ per Christum et Christi sententiis adversatur. Conf. Gall. 24: Purgatorium arbitramur figmentum esse ex eadem officina profectum, unde etiam manarunt vita monastica, peregrinationes, interdicta matrimonii et usus ciborum, ceremonialis certorum dierum observatio, confessio auricularis, indulgentiæ ceteræque res omnes ejusmodi, quibus opinantur quidam, se gratiam et salutem mereri.

(4) Conf. orth. p. 112: Πῶς πρέπει νὰ γροικοῦμεν διὰ τὸ πῦρ τὸ καθαρτήριο; οὐδεμία γραφὴ διαλαμβάνει περὶ αὐτοῦ· νὰ εὕρισκεται δηλαδὴ καὶν μία πρόσκαιρος κόλασις καθαρτικὴ τῶν ψυχῶν, ὕστερα ἀπὸ τὸν θάνατον. For further particulars see Winer p. 157. 58.

SECOND CLASS.

DOCTRINES IN WHICH PROTESTANTS AND ROMAN
CATHOLICS MORE OR LESS AGREED,

(IN OPPOSITION TO THE MINOR SECTS.)

FIRST SECTION.

THEOLOGY PROPER.

§ 261.

THE TRINITARIAN AND ANTITRINITARIAN DOCTRINE
CONCERNING THE DEITY.

However much Protestants differed from Roman Catholics in other points, they were in perfect accordance as to the doctrine of the *Triune Jehovah*, both resting on the decisions of the ancient oecumenical councils.⁽¹⁾ The views of the earlier *Unitarians*, as well as of the later *Socinians*, are directly at variance with the Trinitarian doctrine of three persons in one God ; it is worthy of observation that they revived former anti-Trinitarian errors. *Michael Servetus* adopted the notions of Sabellius, but with this difference, that (after the example of Photinus) he made a distinction between

the *Son of God* who has appeared in time, and the *eternal Logos* (Word).⁽²⁾ Others again bordered upon Arianism.⁽³⁾ *Faustus Socinus* returned to the (abstract) Unitarianism of the Nazarenes, or the Alogi who, acknowledging the Father only as God, regarded Christ as a mere man who was endowed with extraordinary gifts, and afterwards elevated to heaven, and the Holy Ghost as a Divine energy.⁽⁴⁾ The *Arminians* adhered, on the whole, to the orthodox doctrine, but endeavoured to hold along with it the subordination of both the Son and the Spirit.⁽⁵⁾

⁽¹⁾ Insinuations were, nevertheless, thrown out against the reformers themselves, as if they countenanced antitrinitarian errors. Thus, Calvin was at one time charged with Arianism by Caroli; see Henry, *das Leben Joh. Calvins* vol. i. p. 181. It is worthy of observation, that the terms *Trinity* and *person* were avoided in the confession of Geneva (Henry p. 182.) *Melancthon*, too, in the first edition of his loci, pronounced the scholastic definitions respecting the nature of the Trinity foreign to Christian theology. And *Luther* frankly confessed (*über die letzten Worte Davids*, Wittenberg edit. vol. v. p. 551): "It is not to be wondered at, that when a man reads this mysterious, incomprehensible article, strange thoughts should occur to him, of which one or another is sometimes little appropriate, and gives rise to dangerous expressions. But the foundation of our faith remaining unshaken, such splinters, chips, and straws, will do us no harm. But the basis of our faith is our belief that there are three persons in one God, and every person is the one, perfect God, so that the three persons are neither confounded, nor the divine substance divided, but that the distinction of persons, and unity of nature, go together. This is the great mystery which angels will never cease to contemplate and to admire, and the beholding of which constitutes their blessedness. If they could ever see the end of it, there would also be an end of their blessedness." In accordance with this more practical than speculative tendency, Protestants simply appealed to the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, which, together with the Apostles' Creed,

were prefixed to the Liber Concordiæ. Among the symbolical books of the Reformed Church, it was the first Confession of Basle in which the first article (that concerning the Trinity) was designated *symbolum commune* "der gemein Gloub." In several confessions of faith, the erroneous notions of more recent theologians were rejected. Thus, in the Conf. Aug. Art. 1 :.....*Nomine Personæ utuntur ea significatione, qua usi sunt in hac causa scriptores ecclesiastici, ut significet non partem aut qualitatem in alio, sed quod proprie subsistit. Damnant omnes hæreses..... Samosatenos veteres et neotericos, qui cum tantum unam personam esse contendant, de Verbo et de Spiritu Sancto astute et impie rhetoricantur, quod non sint personæ distinctæ, sed quod verbum significet verbum vocale et spiritus motum in rebus creatum.* In the Apol. it is said: *Primum articulum Confessionis nostræ probant nostri adversarii.....Hunc articulum semper docuimus et defendimus, et sentimus eum habere certa et firma testimonia in Scripturis Sanctis, quæ labefactari non queunt.* Comp. Conf. helvet. ii. Art. 3. where, in proof of this doctrine, the following passages are quoted from Scripture, viz.: Luc. i. 35; Matth. iii. 16, 17; Joh. i. 32; Matth. xviii. 19; Joh. xiv. 26, xv. 26.^a Comp. Conf. Gall. 6. Belg. 8. and 9. Angl. 1. and 2. Scot. 1. On the doctrine of the Trinity, as propounded in the Catech. Heidelberg. (*God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost*), see Beckhaus in Illgen l. c. p. 52.

(²) De trinitatis erroribus in 7 books, extracts from which are given by Trechsel p. 67-98. Servetus, instead of commencing his deduction with the Logos, *i. e.*, in a speculative manner, adopted the analytico-historical mode of argumentation. He treats first of the historical Christ, *i. e.*, Christ in his human manifestation. This is the *Son* of God; orthodox theologians incorrectly represent the *Word* (taken in the sense applied to it by the apostle John) as the Son, and thus deny that the man Christ is the Son of God. He expressed himself in decided terms against the separation of two natures. In his opinion, Christ is man filled with the divine nature, and wholly pervaded

^a It is remarkable that the well-known passage, 1 John v. 7. is nowhere quoted; Luther also omitted it in his translation. In the first Confession of Basle no scriptural proofs were adduced, but in a marginal note it was observed: "this may be proved by all the Scriptures, by many passages both in the Old and the New Testaments."

with the Deity. He only denied that God is man, but not that Christ is God. He regarded the Holy Spirit as a divine energy and breath in creation, and a moral principle in man; in reference to the latter point he is called *Holy Spirit*. But Servetus endeavoured, in every way, to ridicule the ecclesiastical doctrine of the Trinity; he only admitted the Trinity in the sense of Sabellius: *Quia tres sunt admirandæ Dei dispositiones, in quarum qualibet divinitas relucet: ex quo sanissime trinitatem intelligere posses: nam Pater est tota substantia et unus Deus, ex quo gradus isti et personatus descendunt. Et tres sunt, non aliqua rerum in Deo distinctione, sed per Dei οἰκονομίαν variis Deitatis formis; nam eadem divinitas, quæ est in Patre, communicatur filio Jesu Christo et Spiritui nostro, qui est templum Dei viventis; sunt enim filius et sanctificatus spiritus noster consortes substantiæ Patris, membra, pignora et instrumenta, licet varia sit in iis deitatis species; et hoc est, quod distinctæ personæ dicuntur, i. e. multiformes deitatis aspectus, diversæ facies et species.* Servetus asserted that the term *Logos*, in the writings of John, does not denote a person, but, according to its etymology, signifies oraculum, vox, sermo, eloquium Dei. In his argumentation, he returned to the ancient distinction between *λόγος ἐνδιάθετος* and *προφορικὸς* (f. 48. quoted by Trechsel p. 79.): *Verbum in Deo proferente est ipsemet Deus loquens. Post prolationem est ipsa caro; seu Verbum Dei antequam caro illa fieret, intelligebatur ipsum Dei oraculum inter nubis caliginem nondum manifestatum (the hidden God), quia Deus erat ille sermo. Et postquam Verbum homo factum est, per Verbum intelligimus ipsum Christum, qui est verbum Dei et vox Dei, nam quasi vox est ex ore Dei prolatus. Propterea dicitur ipse sermo Patris, quia Patris mentem enunciat et ejus cognitionem facit. In his opinion there was no interval between the (hypostatical) generation of the Son, and the birth of Christ. The prolatio verbi and the generatio carnis are *one* and *the same* act. He also rejected what was commonly called *opera ad intra*. Comp. *Heberle: Michael Servets Trinitätslehre und Christologie* (in the *Tübingen theologische Zeitschrift* 1840. 2.)*

(³) This was the case, *e. g.*, with *William Campanus*, who, refusing to admit the Arian phrase, *ἦν ποτὲ ὅτε οὐκ ἦν*, nevertheless strongly asserted the subordination of the Son to the Father,

and designated him "the steward and servant, the messenger and ambassador of God." But it was the Divinity of the Holy Spirit especially which Campanus impugned: "Nothing in the world could be more odious, and *against* nothing could more powerful arguments be adduced from Scripture." Accordingly, he supposed the existence of *two* Divine persons alone, viz., the Father and the Son. Nor does matrimony admit more than two persons, but excludes every third. See Trechsel p. 32. (after *Schelhorn*, Dissert. de Joh. Campano Antitrinitario, in his *Amœnitatt. litt. T. xi. p. 32 ss.*) *Adam Pastoris* (Rudolph Martini) also appears to have propounded Arian errors rather than Sabellian. See Trechsel p. 36.

⁽¹⁾ *F. Socinus* agreed with Servetus in rejecting the existence of persons in the Divine nature; but he considered Christ as $\psi\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$, not, like Servetus, as a man filled and pervaded with the Divine nature, or, as it were, God appearing in the world, manifesting himself in the flesh. He differed from the Ebionites only in this, that he (like the Nazarenes) supposed the supernatural birth of Christ. He substituted a man who became, as it were, God, for God who became man; for he ascribed some kind of Divine worship to that Christ who, *after* his resurrection, was elevated to heaven (a species of worship resembling that which Roman Catholics render to their saints.) *Comp. Catech. Racov. p. 32. : Vox Deus duobus potissimum modis in scripturis usurpatur: prior est cum designat illum, qui in cœlis et in terra omnibus ita dominatur et præest, ut neminem superiorem agnoscat, atque in hac significatione scriptura unum esse Deum asserit. Posterior modus est, cum eum denotat, qui potestatem aliquam sublimem ab uno illo Deo habet aut deitatis unius illius Dei aliqua ratione particeps est. Etenim in scripturis propterea Deus ille unus Deus deorum vocatur (Ps. l. 1.) Et hac quidem posteriore ratione filius Dei vocatur Deus in quibusdam scripturæ locis.—That Christ was *genitus ex essentia patris*, is most strongly denied in the *Catech. Racov. p. 56.* Other passages are quoted by *Winer p. 42.* Compare the sections on Christology. Concerning the Holy Spirit Socinus said, *breviss. inst. p. 652. : Quid de Spir. S. dicis? Nempe illum non esse personam aliquam a Deo, cujus est spiritus, distinctam, sed tantummodo (ut nomen ipsum Spiritus, quod flatum et afflationem, ut sic loquar, signi-**

fiat, docere potest) ipsius Dei vim et efficaciam quandam *i. e.* eam, quæ secum sanctitatem aliquam afferat, etc. Comp. Bibl. frat. Pol. ii. p. 455. b.: Spiritum Sanctum virtutem Dei atque efficaciam, qua aliquo modo res ab ipso Deo sanctificantur, esse credimus. Personam vero ipsum Spiritum Sanctum proprie et in potiozem significatum acceptum, et ab ipso Deo, cujus est spiritus, distinctum esse, negamus. Sanctam motionem, creatam a Deo in anima hominis, metonymice auctorem rei pro re ipsa nominando, Spiritum Sanctum appellari posse, dubitari nequit. Sed aliud est appellari posse, aliud vero re ipsa esse.

(5) The Confess. Remonstr. c. 3. indeed was silent on the subject of subordination, but Episcopi expressed himself as follows, Inst. theol. 4, 2. 32. p. 33.: Sed addo, certum esse ex scripturis, personis his tribus divinitatem divinasque perfectiones tribui non collateraliter aut coordinate, sed subordinate, ita ut pater solus naturam istam divinam et perfectiones istas divinas a se habeat sive a nullo alio, filius autem et spir. s. a patre: ac proinde pater divinitatis omnis, quæ in filio et spiritu sancto est, fons ac principium sit.—Limb. theol. christ. ii. 17. §. 25.: Col- ligimus, essentiam divinam et filio et spiritui sancto esse communem. Sed et non minus constat, inter tres hasce personas subordinationem esse quandam, quatenus pater naturam divinam a se habet, filius et spir. s. a patre, qui proinde divinitatis in filio et spiritu sancto fons est et principium. Communis christianorum consensus ordinis ratione prærogativam hanc agnoscit, patri semper tribuens primum locum, secundum filio, tertium spiritui sancto. Sed et est quædam supereminentia, patris respectu filii, et patris ac filii respectu spiritus sancti, ratione dignitatis ac potestatis. Dignius siquidem est generare, quam generari, spirare quam spirari, etc.

§ 262.

THE SYSTEMATIC DEVELOPEMENT OF THE DOCTRINE
CONCERNING GOD, TOGETHER WITH ITS MYSTICO-
SPECULATIVE ASPECT.

The doctrine of the Trinity served as a basis for the

further developement of theology in the Protestant Church. Among the arguments for *the existence of God* the ontological proof was revived by *Cartesius*.⁽¹⁾ Most doctrinal writers of this period, however, made the historical fact of a Divine revelation to men the starting point of their systems, and thus necessarily presupposed the metaphysical existence of God.⁽²⁾ They indulged more fully in definitions respecting his attributes, adopting for the most part the scholastic method of investigation.⁽³⁾ But it was especially the doctrine of the Trinity which was further carried out both by argumentative theologians, and by theosophic mystics. The schoolmen made a distinction between the relation in which the Divine persons stand to each other (*opera ad intra*), and the relation in which they stand to the world and to mankind (*opera ad extra*), which were again subdivided.⁽⁴⁾ On the other hand, the mystics endeavoured to fathom the depths of that mystery, but frequently confounded theology with natural philosophy.⁽⁵⁾

⁽¹⁾ *Cartesii Meditatt. de prima philos. in quibus Dei existentia et animæ humanæ a corpore distinctio demonstratur. Amst. 1641. 4. (1654.)—Principia Philosophiæ, Amst. 1650. 4. Lib. i. c. 14. : Considerans deinde inter diversas ideas, quas apud se habet [mens], unam esse entis summe intelligentis, summe potentis et summe perfecti, quæ omnium longe præcipua est, agnoscit in ipsa existentiam non possibilem et contingentem tantum, quemadmodum in ideis aliarum omnium rerum, quas distincte percipit, sed omnino necessariam et æternam. Atque ut ex eo, quod, exempli causa, percipiat in idea trianguli necessario contineri, tres ejus angulos æquales esse duobus rectis, plane sibi persuadet, triangulum tres angulos habere æquales duobus rectis, ita ex eo solo, quod percipiat, existentiam necessariam et æternam in entis summe perfecti idea contineri, plane concludere debet, ens summe perfectum existere. (As regards the question whether God may be comprehended, or not, Cartesius appropriately dis-*

tinguished between *comprehendere Deum* and *intelligere*. The former is denied to us, the latter alone we are permitted to enjoy l. c. c. 19.)

(²) Nevertheless *Baier* observes, p. 169. : *Esse Deum inter christianos supponi magis, quam probari debere, videri potest : quia tamen non solum cum Atheis, verum etiam alias ob corruptionem naturæ cum dubitationibus mentium nostrarum decertandum est, ideo non sunt negligendi, qui Dei existentiam probant.* Most earlier orthodox theologians made no mention of these arguments, and it was not till after the time of Wolf, “*that they were regarded as so momentous, that the existence or nonexistence of God seemed to depend on them.*” *Hase, Hutterus redivivus*, p. 126.

(³) The Divine attributes were not called *proprietas* (which have reference to the Trinity comp. note 4.), but *attributa Dei, i. e. conceptus essentialis, quibus notio Dei absolvitur*, which were subdivided into *quiescentia* and *transeuntia*, etc. See *Hollaz* p. 235. : *Attributa divina ab essentia divina et a se invicem distinguuntur non nominaliter, neque realiter, sed formaliter, secundum nostrum concipiendi modum, non sine certo distinctionis fundamento.* Concerning the particular attributes compare the compendius of *de Wette* p. 56. *Hase, Hutterus redivivus* p. 135 ss. The Socinians (like Origen) limited the *omniscience* of God, see *Dorner* (review of *Winer's Symbolik* in the *Theolog. Studien und Kritiken* 1838. part 2.)^a

(⁴) A. The *opera ad intra* (*notæ internæ*) constitute the character *hypostaticus* of each person ; they are *immanentia*, and may be divided into a. *actus personales*. (*α*) *Pater generat filium et spirat spiritum.* (*β*) *Filius generatur a Patre, spirat cum Patre Spir. Sanctum.* (*γ*) *Spir. S. procedit a Patre Filioque.*

^a How much *Luther* avoided all scholastic subtilty in his definitions of the Divine attributes, *e. g.*, of the omnipresence of God, may be seen from the following passage, taken from his treatise : *Bekenntniss vom Abendmahl* (*Walch* xx. 1202.) : “We say that God is not such a long, broad, thick, high, deep being, but a supernatural, incomprehensible being, which exists wholly in every grain of sand, and is at the same time *in, above, and without* all creatures ; hence there can be no limitation, as man would fancy. . . . Nothing is so small, but that God is still smaller ; nothing so great, but that God is still greater ; nothing so short, but that God is still shorter ; nothing so long, but that God is still longer ; nothing so broad, but that God is still broader ; nothing so narrow, but that God is still narrower. Thus he is an incomprehensible and inexpressible being above all that we may name or think.”

b. *Proprietates personales*. (α) Paternatis, (β) Filiatio s. generatio passiva, (γ) Spiratio passiva. c. *Notiones personales*. ($\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\nu\nu\eta\sigma\lambda\alpha$ et spiratio activa.) d. *Ordo subsistendi*. Pater est prima, Filius secunda et Spiritus tertia persona deitatis. B. The opera ad extra may be divided into: a *Opera œconomica*, i. e. ea, quæ Deus facit ad reparandam generis humani salutem æternam. (α) Pater ablegavit Filium ad homines redimendos et mittit Spir. Sanct. ad homines regenerandos et sanctificandos. (β) Filius redemit genus humanum et mittit Spir. S. (γ) Spir. S. mittitur in animos hominum, eosque participes reddit salutis per Christum partæ. b. *Opera attributiva* (communia) i. e. ea, quæ, quamquam sint tribus personis communia, tamen in Sc. S. plerumque adscribuntur singulis. (α) Pater creavit, conservat et gubernat omnia per Filium. (β) Filius creavit mundum, mortuos resuscitabit atque iudicium extremum exercebit. (γ) Spir. S. inspiravit prophetas. Compare De Wette p. 81. Hase, Hutterus redivivus p. 173.

⁽⁵⁾ Comp. *Jacob Bohm's* mystical writings, e. g., *Mysterium magn.* vii. 6. 7. 8. *Theosophische Fragen* ii. 2. 3. *Morgenröthe im Aufgang* iii. 14. 15. 28. *Von dem dreifachen Leben des Menschen* vii. 22. *Erste Schutzschrift wider Balthasar Tilken* 406.

§ 263.

CREATION AND PRESERVATION OF THE WORLD. PROVIDENCE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE WORLD.

Theologians of all denominations agreed in ascribing personality to the Divine Being, and, consequently, in supposing that God had performed a real act of creation, i. e. *had created the world out of nothing.*⁽¹⁾ The mystics, however, made still greater efforts than ever for the propagation of Pantheism.⁽²⁾ The speculative systems of the age were favourable either to pantheistic tendencies, by which God and the world were confounded, or to deistic principles, which lost sight of the Creator in his works.⁽³⁾ The results of the newly culti-

vated study of natural history also appeared irreconcilable with the literal interpretation of the Mosaic account of the creation of the world.⁽⁴⁾ The doctrines concerning the preservation of the world,⁽⁵⁾ concerning providence and the government of the world,⁽⁶⁾ which had been propounded by earlier theologians, were more fully developed in the theological systems of the present age. *Leibnitz* elevated the theory commonly called "Theodicy" (Vol. i. p. 340.) into a philosophical science.⁽⁷⁾

⁽¹⁾ The tendency of Luther's mind, and his keen sense for the beauties of nature, led him to view the work of creation in the manner of a pious poet rather than in that of a subtile scholastic, as may be seen from many humorous and witty passages in his "table-talk," etc. To questions such as, what did God prior to the creation of the world? he replied ironically.^a Calvin's disposition had less of the poetical element (see Henry Vol. i. p. 484. 85.), nor was that sense for nature so much developed in him as in Luther. Nevertheless comp. Inst. i. c. 14. p. 53: Interea ne pigeat in hoc pulcherrimo theatro piam oblectationem capere ex manifestis et obviis Dei operibus. Est enim hoc etsi non praeicipuum, naturae tamen ordine primum fidei documentum, quaquaversum oculos circumferamus, omnia quae occurrunt, meminisse Dei esse opera, et simul quem in finem a Deo condita sint, pia cogitatione reputare..... Verum quia nunc in didactico versamur genere, ab iis supersedere nos convenit, quae longas declamationes requirunt. Ergo, ut compendio studeam tunc sciant lectores se vera fide apprehendisse quid sit Deum cœli et terræ esse creatorem, si illam primum universalem regulam sequantur, ut quas in suis creaturis Deus exhibet conspicuas virtutes, non ingrata vel incogitantia vel oblivione transeant; deinde sic ad se applicare discant quo penitas afficiantur in suis cordibus.—In the symbolical books only a passing reference is made to the doctrine of creation, because there was no occasion

^a His reply to the question, Where was God prior to the creation of the world? was: "in the birch-grove, in order to cut rods, wherewith to punish importune questioners." *Hase*, Gnosis ii. p. 183.

for entering into controversies; the expressions there used have regard to the practical rather than doctrinal aspect of this subject. Comp. *e. g.* the Catech. major of Luther Art. 1.—On the other hand, later theologians more fully developed the idea of *creatio ex nihilo*. They made a distinction between *nihil privatum* (*materia inhabilis et rudis*) and *nihil negativum* (*negatio omnis entitatis*), and maintained the creation out of nothing in either respect.—To the question, whether there had been any time antecedent to the creation of the world, or whether God had created *time* when he created the *world*? some replied (after the example of Augustine) *mundum esse conditum cum tempore*. On the contrary, other theologians (especially of the Reformed Church), supposing the previous existence of time, fixed upon different periods as those in which God created the world; thus *Alsted* decided in favour of the spring, *Heidegger* gave the preference to autumn.^a *Calov*. iii. 909. adopted an intermediate view: God created non in tempore proprie, sed in primo instanti ac principio temporis; and *Hollaz* said, p. 359: in tempore non præexistente, sed coëxistente. Compare the passages quoted by *de Wette* p. 61. *Hase*, *Hutterus redivivus* p. 152.—Theologians (such as *Gerhard*, *Quenstedt*, *Hollaz*, *Alsted*) further distinguished between *Creatio prima seu immediata* (*i. e.* the creation of matter), and *Creatio secunda seu mediata* (*i. e.* the creation of form.)—The proper object of the creation of the world (*finis ultimus*) was thus defined by *Calov*. iii. 900.: *ut bonitas, sapientia et potentia Dei a creaturis rationabilibus celebraretur, in creaturis universis agnosceretur*; the subordinate one (*finis intermedius*) is the happiness of his creatures. Comp. *Heidegger* vi. 8. *de Wette* p. 61. 62.^b

(²) *Jacob Böhm*, *Mysterium Magnum* 1, 2. (quoted by *Wullen* p. 4.): God is the unity in relation to his creatures, an *eternal nothing*; he has neither a foundation, nor a commencement, nor a place [of residence], and possesses nothing but himself. He is

^a Towards the commencement of the last century, *Hogel*, a rector in Gera, actually discovered that God commenced the work of creation Oct. 26th, towards evening. See *Hase*, *Gnosis* l. c.

^b It is evident, from what has been said respecting the different opinions concerning the Trinity, that Trinitarians alone would ascribe the work of creation to all the persons, which was denied by Unitarians. But the Arminians and Mennonites also referred it to the *Father* in particular. Compare the passages quoted by *Neudecker* p. 347 ss.

the will of that which has no ground, in himself he is a unity ; he does not stand in need of any room or space ; from eternity to eternity he begets himself in himself, etc.—*Theosophisches Sendschreiben* 47. 4. (Wullen p. 13.) : In God all creatures are only one creature, an eternal unity, as it were, the one eternal good ; but the eternal unity could not become manifest, if there were no differences. Therefore it has manifested itself in such a way, that it has introduced a plurality and distinctions in its own will and in attributes ; but the attributes [are manifested ?] in desires, and the desires in beings.—*Von der Geburt und Bezeichnung aller Wesen* 16. 1. (Wullen p. 21.) : The creation is nothing but a manifestation of the Almighty ; it is all that which he is in his eternal generation, but not in his omnipotence and power. c. 11. : The being of beings is only one being, but in his generation he separates himself into light and darkness, joy and sorrow, good and evil, love and hatred, fire and light, and out of these two eternal beginnings, arises the third beginning, viz. the creation, for his own delight, and according to his eternal desire.—*Von dem dreifachen Leben des Menschen* vi. 5. (Wullen p. 23.) : God himself is the being of beings, we are, as it were, gods in him, by means of whom he manifests himself. (The same idea is expressed in other passages.)—The same mystical pantheism pervades the (poetical) works of *Scheffler* (*Angelus Silesius*.) Compare the passages quoted by *Wackernagel*, *Lesebuch* ii. p. 431 ss. *Hagenbach*, *Vorlesungen über die Reformation*, iv. p. 424. These mystics widely differed from the pietists ; see *Spener*, *theologische Bedenken* iii. 302. (edit. of *Hennicke* p. 24) : Thus there remains such an infinite distinction between God and the creature,^a that the natures of both are not *one* nature ; nevertheless they are most intimately connected with each other.

(³) Thus the theory of *Leibnitz* was opposed to the scriptural (and ecclesiastical) doctrine of creation, inasmuch as by the assumption of the existence of atoms (*Eutelechien*) the creator was thrown too much into the shade ; on the other hand, the pantheism of *Spinoza* virtually destroyed the idea of *creation* (*i. e.* in the sense of Scripture.)

(⁴) Concerning the Pre-adamite controversy see § 247. note 1.

^a By creature he understands in this place the believer, and not the world.

(5) The preservation of the world was understood to be *Creatio continua, perennis*.—*Melancthon* (in loc. de creatione): *Infirmetas humana, etiamsi cogitat Deum esse conditorem, tamen postea imaginatur, ut faber discedit a navi exstructa, et relinquit eam nautis, ita Deum discedere a suo opere, et relinqui creaturas tantum propriæ gubernationi. Adversus has dubitationes confirmandæ sunt mentes cogitatione vera articuli de creatione, ac statuendum est, non solum conditas esse res a Deo, sed etiam perpetuo servari et sustentari a Deo rerum substantias. Adest Deus suæ creaturæ, sed non adest ut stoicus Deus, sed ut agens liberrimum, sustentans creaturam, et sua immensa misericordia moderans, dans bona, adjuvans aut impediens causas secundas.*

(6) In reference to the object of providence a distinction was made between *providentia generalis, specialis* and *specialissima*, in reference to the order of nature between *naturalis (ordinaria, mediata)* and *supernaturalis (miraculosa, immediata)*,^a in reference to the moral actions of men between *permittens, impediens dirigens, limitans, etc.* Theologians endeavoured to reconcile the liberty of man with the foreknowledge of God by means of the doctrine concerning the *concursus, i. e.* (according to *Quenstädt* i. p. 231.) concerning the *actus providentiae, quo Deus influxu generali in actiones et effectus causarum secundarum, qua tales, immediate et simul cum eis et juxta indigentiam et exigentiam uniuscujusque salviter influit.* In the language of philosophers this system developed by *Cartesius, Malebranche, and Bayle*, was termed the system of *Occasionalism*.

(7) *Essai de Théodicée sur la bonté de Dieu, la liberté de l'homme et l'origine du mal.* Amst. 1710. ii. parts 12°. The system of *Optimism*.

§ 264.

ANGELS AND DEMONS (DEVIL.)

Protestants as well as Roman Catholics⁽¹⁾ continued to rest their faith in the real existence both of angels

^a Concerning the idea of miracle see Hase, *Flutterus redivivus* p. 160. 61.

and demons on the authority of Scripture, and to believe in the power of the devil as something which still manifests itself in the life of men.⁽²⁾ In the symbolical books a passing reference only was occasionally made to these doctrines,⁽³⁾ while the theologians here again both adopted and carried out the definitions of the scholastics.⁽⁴⁾ *Christian Thomasius* and *Balthasar Bekker* combated the belief in the devil no less than that in witches; the former cautiously rejected only the opinion that the devil still exerts physical power over men,⁽⁵⁾ while the latter, by bold and daring assertions, represented his existence itself as very doubtful.⁽⁶⁾

(1) There was only this difference between Protestants and Roman Catholics, that the latter added the invocatio of the angels. Comp. § 256. note 2.

(2) The story of *Luther's* conflict with the devil is well known. *Calvin* (and *Zwinglius*) did not so much trouble themselves with the question of Satanic agency. See *Henry, Leben Calvins* i. p. 488 ss. Various rites were also observed at the ceremony of casting the devil out of persons to be baptized.^a The trials of witches are the best proof of the belief then prevailing in the continuance of demoniacal agency.

(3) *E. g.* Comp. *Helv. ii. Art. 7.* For further particulars see *Neudecker* p. 365.

(4) Compare the passages quoted by *Hase* (*Hutterus redivivus* p. 183 ss.) from the works of *Hollaz* and others. These scholastic definitions went beyond what the reformers had determined on the single foundation of Scripture; thus *Calvin* asks: *de tempore vel ordine quo creati fuerint (Angeli) contentionem movere, nonne pervicaciæ magis quam diligentiaë est?* *Inst. i. c. 14.* Nevertheless *Heidegger*, a *Calvinistic* theologian, filled 20 pages folio with his *Breviarium de Angelis!* p. 279–300.

(5) In his "Erinnerungen wegen seiner Künftigen Wintervorlesungen," 1702, quoted by *Schröckh*, *allgemeine Biographie* v. p.

^a *Bekker* also observes (*die bezauberte Welt* p. 112.) that the opinions of the *Lutherans* concerning the devil resemble the views of the *Papists* much more than those of the *Calvinists*.

349. He denied that the devil has horns, and claws, or at all corresponds to the ordinary representations of him. Nor did he admit, that the doctrine concerning the devil is the corner-stone of Christianity, which being removed, the whole edifice must fall.

⁽⁶⁾ *Bekker*, by combating in his work: *die bezauberte Welt*, the belief of the age in witches, etc. was led to inquire into the manner in which the Scriptural accounts of apparitions of angels, as well as of the influences exerted by the devil upon man, are to be understood. Though he frequently explained away by arbitrary exegesis what did not agree with his own opinions, he correctly exposed in other places the false consequences which the advocates of subtle scholasticism, no less than of common superstition, inferred from the misinterpretation of certain passages. He endeavoured in particular to show that Scripture, so far from establishing a *doctrine* concerning angels and devils, speaks of them only occasionally without fully enlightening us on their nature, as little as it gives complete information respecting the Urim and Thummim. See Book ii. c. 8. § 3: God did not intend to instruct us concerning the *angels*, but concerning *ourselves*. (§ 8.) This is the case also with the demons: "Neither the Saviour, nor his apostles, inform us, *how* the devils fell, but at most, *that* they fell.....this we should consider sufficient. (c. 9. § 1.) And as regards *natural things*, Scripture is not designed to teach us the mode of their existence, but it commands us to contemplate them for the glory of God, and the salvation of man. (c. 10. § 15.) In reference to the *angels*, the final result of his inquiries is, that there are such beings whom God employs in his service; but they exert no direct influence upon the soul and body of man. (c. 15. § 9.) He rejects the existence of guardian-angels. (c. 16.) Respecting the *devil*, many things are not to be understood literally, but figuratively, *e. g.*, the history of our Lord's temptation (Matth. iv.) which he explains as an interchange of dangerous thoughts." (c. 21. § 17.) But there are also other passages which do not support the common theory. In ch. 26. he discusses the difference between Satan and his associates; in ch. 27. he explains the demoniacal possessions as diseases which "affected the brain," and in which the disease itself was confounded with the devil; in support of his view he was of course led to suppose (c. 28.) that Jesus "had accommodated himself to

the prejudices of the people." What else Scripture tells us concerning the devil, *may easily be referred to wicked men.*" (c. 31.) This much at least is evident, "that the devil is of less consequence than people generally believe." (c. 32. § 1.) "*Let man examine his conscience, where he will find the true beginning the fountain and source of all his troubles and miseries.*" (c. 36. § 18.) He admonishes men to fear God instead of fearing the devil, and thinks that by lowering the power of the devil he "elevates the more the wisdom and might of the Saviour," (§ 22.)

SECOND SECTION.

CHRISTOLOGY AND SOTERIOLOGY.

(INCLUSIVE OF THE DOCTRINE CONCERNING BAPTISM AND OF
ESCHATOLOGY.)

THE NATURE OF CHRIST.

§ 265.

Not merely the doctrine of the Trinity, as we have already seen, but also that of the two natures of Christ, remained unaffected by the contests between Protestants and Roman Catholics.⁽¹⁾ It was only in reference to the *Communicatio idiomatum* and the *Unio personalis* that a difference of opinion arose between Lutherans and Calvinists, in connection with the controversy concerning the sacraments.⁽²⁾ But among the sects various notions respecting the person of Christ made their appearance, which bore some resemblance to earlier heresies. Thus *Caspar Schwenkfeld* revived the docetico-monophysitic doctrine concerning the “*glorified and deified flesh*” of Christ.⁽³⁾ *Menno Simonis*, as well as other Anabaptists, supposed (like the Valentinians in the first period) that our Lord’s birth was a mere phantom.⁽⁴⁾ *Michael Servetus* maintained that Christ was a mere man, filled with the divine nature, and rejected all further distinctions between his two natures

as unscriptural, and founded upon scholastic definitions alone.⁽⁵⁾ *Faustus Socinus* went so far as to return to the view entertained by the Ebionites and Nazarenes, since, in his opinion, Jesus of Nazareth was by nature, notwithstanding his supernatural birth, a mere man, whom God deemed worthy of extraordinary revelations, elevated to heaven after his death, and to whom he committed the government of the church founded by him.⁽⁶⁾ The mystics in general, and the Quakers in particular, attached less importance to the *historical* Christ, than to the manifestation of Christ *in us*, though they were far from denying the existence of the former; several of them even established various Gnostic theories concerning his humanity and incarnation.⁽⁷⁾

⁽¹⁾ It is well known how firmly *Luther* retained the doctrine of the divinity and incarnation of Christ. He whom the universe could not contain, lies in Mary's lap, etc. Compare his : *Auslegung des Evangeliums am heiligen Christfest.* (Walch T. xi. p. 171. 76.) See *Dorner* p. 192. 93. *Zwinglius* also held that Christ "was born without sin of the pure Virgin Mary," and that he was "both true man and true God." In Christ alone he found redemption, the beginning and end of all salvation; see his : *Uslegung des 5. Artikels.* Works i. p. 187.—For *Calvin's* views respecting the person of Christ see his *Instit.* Lib. ii. c. 12 ss. especially c. 14. (§ 5. is directed against *Servetus.*) The authors of the symbolical books adopted the definitions of the oecumenical symbols : *Conf. Aug.* p. 10. : [Item docent quod Verbum, hoc est, Filius Dei, assumpserit humanam naturam in utero beatæ Mariæ virginis, ut sint duæ naturæ, divina et humana, in unitate personæ inseparabiliter conjunctæ, unus Christus, vere Deus, et vere homo, natus ex virgine Maria.....] *Apolog.* p. 50. Art. *Schmalc.* p. 303. [Filius ita factus est homo, ut a Spiritu Sancto sine virili opera conciperetur, et ex Maria pura, sancta, semper virgine nasceretur.] *Catech. major* p. 493. ss. *Form. Concord.* Art. 8. De persona Christi p. 605. ss.—*Conf. Bas.* i. Art. 4. *Helv.* ii. Art. 11. *Belg.* 19. *Gal* 14. *Angl.* 2. *Conf. Remonstr.* 8. 3,

etc. With this agree Catch. roman. i. 3. 8. iv. 5. ss. and the symbols of the Greek church.

(2) Concerning the connection between the said difference and the controversy respecting the sacraments, see Dorner p. 166; it was not merely accidental. The difference consisted in this, that the Calvinists tenaciously retained the doctrine of two natures in *one* person, and therefore confined the human nature of the Redeemer to heaven (*i. e.*, as his present abode), while the Lutherans supposed (on the basis of the *περιχώρησις* of John Damascenus) a real transition of one nature into the other, on which they rested their belief in the ubiquity of Christ's body. *Zwinglius*, in order to set aside such Scriptures as appeared favourable to this view, had recourse to what is called the *Allœosis*,^a concerning which he expressed himself as follows (Exeges. euch. negot. Opp. iii. p. 525.): Est allœosis, quantum huc attinet, desultus vel transitus ille, aut si mavis permutatio, qua de altera in Christi natura loquentes alterius vocibus utimur. Ut cum Christus ait: caro mea vere est cibus, caro proprie est humanæ in illo naturæ, attamen per commutationem h. l. pro divina ponitur natura. Qua ratione enim filius Dei est, ea ratione est animæ cibus.....Rursus cum perhibet filium familiâs a colonis trucidandum, cum filius familâs divinitatis ejus nomen sit, pro humana tamen natura accipit, sec. enim istam mori potuit, sec. divinam minime. Cum, inquam, de altera natura prædicatur, quod alterius, id tandem est allœosis aut idiomatum communicatio aut commutatio. Comp. the "Wahrhaftiges Bekenntniss der Diener der Kirche von Zürich, 1545," quoted by Winer p. 68: Christ's true human body was not deified (after his ascension into heaven) together with his rational human soul, *i. e.*, transformed into God, but only glorified. But this glorification did not produce such effects as to destroy the nature of the human body, but only freed it from its weakness, and rendered the body glorious, shining, and immortal.^b Conf. helv. ii. 11: Non docemus, veritatem corporis Christi

^a Luther, in his Grosses Bekenntniss (Walch xx. p. 1180. 81.) called the allœosis, the devil's mask, and the old witch mistress reason, her grandmother: he then continues: "We here condemn and curse the allœosis to hell itself, as the devil's own suggestion." He would prefer the term synecdochy to the word allœosis. But he will allow neither the one nor the other, to militate against the theory of the ubiquity of Christ's body, p. 1185.

^b In opposition to this idea of Christ's body being confined to heaven, Luther ob-

a clarificatione desiisse, aut deificatam adeoque sic deificatam esse, ut suas proprietates, quoad corpus et animam deposuerit ac prorsus in naturam divinam abierit unaque duntaxat substantia esse cœperit. Comp. Conf. Gall. 15. Angl. 19 ss. Belg. 19. and other passages quoted by Winer p. 69. Catechism Heidelb. Qu. 47 : But will Christ not be with us to the end of the world, as he has promised us ? Answ. Christ is true man and true God. He is not now on earth according to his human nature, but his divinity, majesty, mercy, and spirit, never forsake us. Qu. 48 : But are the two natures not then separated from each other, so that the human nature is not in all places where the divine is ? Answ. By no means : for, as the latter is incomprehensible and everywhere present, it follows, that though it may exist out of the human nature which it has assumed, it nevertheless exists as much in it, and remains personally united with it.

The difference between the Lutheran and the Calvinistic doctrine is expressed in the Form. Concord. p. 767 : Postquam Christus non communi ratione, ut alius quispiam sanctus in cœlos ascendit, sed ut Apostolus (Eph. iv. 10.) testatur, super omnes cœlos ascendit, et revera omnia implet et ubique non tantum ut Deus, verum etiam ut homo, præsens dominatur et regnat a mari ad mare, et usque ad terminos terræ, quemadmodum olim prophetæ de ipso sunt vaticinati et apostoli (Marc. xvi. 20.) testantur, quod Christus ipsis ubique cooperatus sit, et sermonem ipsorum sequentibus signis confirmaverit. The right hand of God is everywhere : non est certus aliquis et circumscriptus in cœlo locus, sed nihil aliud est, nisi omnipotens Dei virtus, quæ cœlum et terram implet. The unio personalis does not merely consist in this, that they (viz., the two natures of Christ) have the same appellations in common, but it is essential ; p. 768 : [Et ex hoc fundamento, cujus jam facta est mentio, et quod unio personalis docet, quomodo videlicet divina et humana natura in persona Christi sint unitæ, ut non modo nomina communia, sed realiter etiam et re ipsa inter se, sine omni confusione et exaequatione essentialium, communicent, promanat etiam doctrina illa de communicatione idio-

served (Waleh xx. p. 1000.) that it was a childish notion : "in the same manner we used to represent heaven to children, with a golden throne in it, and Christ seated on the right hand of his Father, clothed in a surplice, and wearing a golden crown on his head, as we often see in pictures."

matum duarum in Christo naturarum, de qua infra aliquid amplius dicetur.] Lest they might be charged with monophysitic errors, the authors of the Form. Conc. added, p. 778 : [Et quidem his vocabulis (realis communicatio, realiter communicari) nunquam ullam physicam communicationem, vel essentialem transfusionem (qua naturæ in suis essentiis, aut essentialibus proprietatibus confunderentur) docere voluminus, ut quidam vocabula et phrases illas astute et malitiose falsa interpretatione, contra conscientiam suam, pervertere non dubitarunt.....sed vocabula et phrases illos verbali communicationi opposuimus, cum quidam fingerent, communicationem idiomatum nihil aliud, nisi phrasin et modum quendam loquendi, hoc est, mera tantum verba, nomina, et titulos inanes esse.] Nor is the unio hypostatica merely external and mechanical : quasi duæ illæ naturæ eo modo unitæ sint, quo duo asseres conglutinantur, ut realiter, seu re ipsa et vere, nullam prorsus communicationem inter se habeant (p. 764); on the other hand, the effusio of the divine nature into the human is not so, quasi cum vinum, aqua aut oleum de uno vaso in aliud transfunditur (p. 780.) The Roman Catholics, so far from adopting the doctrine of the unio hypostatica, rejected it. Thus, *Forer, Gregory of Valentia, and Potavius*. *Comp. Cotta, Dissert. de Christo redemptore*, in Gerhard loci theolog. T. iv. p. 57.

⁽³⁾ Christology forms the principal part of the system of *Schwenkfeld*. Among his writings it is especially the following in which he developes his views : *Quæstiones vom Erkantnus Jesu Christi und seiner Glorien*, 1561.—*Von der Speyse des ewigen Lebens*, 1547.—*Vom Worte Gottes, dass kein ander Wort Gottes sei, eigentlich zu reden, denn der Sohn Gottes, Jesus Christus*.—He defended himself against the imputation of destroying the humanity of Christ, but asserted, that Christ's human nature in its glorified state ought to be called *divine*. Accordingly, in his opinion "the flesh of Christ is not that of a creature : for it is not derived from God in the same manner as God is the creator of all that is bodily, but in a higher manner ; as regards other men, God creates them without himself, but not so Christ." On this account Christ is the *natural* Son of God (also according to his humanity) ; for "God has not only communicated his word to the man Christ, and united it with his flesh, but from the commencement he has also bestowed upon him his own nature, being,

and independence, divine treasures and riches." (Vom Fleisch Christi p. 140–46. Dorner p. 207. 8.) All that by which Christ is David's son, is laid aside and lost (in his divine nature); his whole nature is renewed and deified. (Ibid. p. 176. Dorner p. 210.) Nevertheless he rejected the idea of a twofold body of Christ, but admitted only *one* flesh, viz., the mortal flesh of Mary assumed by him; "*this mortal flesh however is, in his opinion, not the nature, but only the temporal form of Christ's flesh in his state of humiliation; but he does not succeed in giving us a clear idea of what he means. We shall best understand him, if we suppose, that in his opinion the flesh of Christ has a twofold origin, viz., on the one hand in the divine nature, on the other in the flesh of Mary, but is essentially only one, inasmuch as it may be considered in a twofold aspect, viz., as divine and as human.*" Dorner l. c. "*In his endeavours after a clear exhibition of his views we ought not to overlook the truly speculative element, which manifests itself in his attempt to reconcile the divine with the human.*" Ibid. p. 213.

(⁴) This is referred to in the Form. Conc. p. 828. : Christum carnem et sanguinem suum non e Maria virgine assumisise, sed de cœlo attulisse. Conf. Belg. Art. 18. Menno adopted this doctrine held by the Anabaptists (Schyn. plen. deduct. p. 164.) At an earlier period *Melchior Hofmann* (died 1532) had propounded similar opinions. Hofmann laid great stress upon the word : ἐγένετο in John i. : the Logos did not merely assume our nature, but he *became* flesh, hence his blasphemous expression : maledicta sit caro Mariæ ! Comp. Trechsel p. 34. 35.

(⁵) Comp. § 262. the doctrine of the Trinity, and his work : Christianismi restitutio, 1553. Schlüsselburg, Catal. Haeres. Lib. xi. "*It may be said that Michael Servetus developed the idea of Schwenkfeld more harmoniously, but with some essential modifications.....Resting on a pantheistic basis, he could say, that the flesh of Christ was consubstantial with God, but the same would be true in reference to all flesh.*" Dorner p. 215. Nevertheless he did not say it in reference to all flesh. "*In his opinion Christ alone is the Son of God, nor is that name to be given to any one else.*" Ibid. He calls Christ (in distinction from all other men) naturalis filius, ex vera Dei substantia genitus, de Trinit. i. p. 13. It appears to us, that after a candid exami-

nation of his theory, more would be found in it than “*a mere divine or religious glimmer*” (Dorner p. 216.) shed upon the person of Christ, though we admit that this pantheistic Unitarianism might easily take a deistic direction (ibid. p. 217.)

(⁶) Cat. Rac. p. 45. : Quænam sunt, quæ ad Christi personam referuntur? Id solum, quod natura sit homo verus, olim quidem, cum in terris viveret, mortalis, nunc vero immortalis. Though the authors of this confession denied (p. 46. of the last edition), that Jesus was “*purus et vulgaris homo,*” they asserted that *by nature* he was *mere man*, but the *only-begotten* Son of God from the moment of his birth. It was especially to Luke i. 35. that they referred in support of their opinion. This is also very distinctly stated *Ostorodt* Unterr. vi. 48. : We therefore believe, that the *essentia* or the nature of the Son of God was none other than the *essentia* of a man, *i. e.*, a real man, nor do we know of any other *essentia* or nature in him. In addition we believe that he had another beginning than all other men, *i. e.*, that he did not receive his beginning and origin from man, but from God himself, since the Virgin Mary conceived him from the Holy Ghost, *i. e.*, by means of a divine power; on this account he was also to be called the Son of God. Therefore he is God’s Son, even his only begotten Son from the beginning of his existence, inasmuch as God never had another such Son, who was conceived in the womb, and born by his own power; for the same reason he may also be named God’s real Son, because he was neither adopted, nor the son of any one else, but always the Son of God. Beside his supernatural birth, the Socinians supposed particular miraculous ecstasies by which he ascended into heaven. Cat. Rac. p. 146. : Qua ratione ipse Jesus ad ipsius divinæ voluntatis notitiam pervenit? Ea ratione, quod in cœlum ascenderit ibique patrem suum et eam, quam nobis annunciavit, vitam et beatitatem viderit, et ea omnia, quæ docere deberet, ab eodem patre audierit, a quo deinde e cœlo in terram dimissus, Spir. S. immensa copia perfusus fuit, cujus afflatu cuncta, quæ a patre didicit, perlocutus est. Here again we have an instance of that external Supernaturalism which is more easily inclined to believe in *miracles*, than in the great *mystery*, rather in revelations which Jesus *received* and *communicated* to men, than in the *one* manifestation

of God in the flesh ; rather in a man who has, as it were, become God, than in God who has become man !

(7) *Luther* himself adopted not only the orthodox doctrine concerning the person of Christ which obtained in the Roman Catholic Church, but also the mystical one which he derived from the work already mentioned : *die deutsche Theologie*. Comp. *Dorner* p. 193.—Respecting the opinions of the Quakers see *Barclay*, *Apol. thes.* 13. 2. p. 288. quoted by *Winer* p. 71. According to *Weigel* Christ is the Divine Spirit in man, the *Word*, the divine idea. Incarnations of this Word took place *prior to the time* of Christ ; thus in the case of Adam, Abraham, etc. He also supposed (like the Quakers) two bodies of Christ. “He did not derive his flesh and blood from the mortal virgin or from Adam, but from the *eternal* virgin through the Holy Ghost, in order that we, by means of this heavenly flesh, might be made new creatures, that henceforth we might not be earthy, owing our existence to Adam, but heavenly, being created by Christ, and in such flesh possess heaven.”.....But this divine body was invisible, immortal. Christ, in order that he might dwell among us on earth, and do us good, assumed a visible body in the womb of the Virgin Mary ; “for who could exist near the sun if it were among men upon earth ?” Similar views were entertained by *Jacob Böhm* and *Poiret*. Concerning the former see *Baur*, *Gnosis* p. 596–604. and the passages quoted by *Wullen* ; respecting the latter a full account was given by *Dorner* p. 231 ss. note, after *Poiret’s* *Economie divine ou système universel*, etc. V Tom. *Amsterd.* 1687. According to ch. xi. of this treatise the (ideal) Son of God assumed a human nature soon *after* the creation of man, and *prior* to his fall, in this manner that he (the Son of God) took from Adam his body, and a divine soul. *Poiret* also ascribed to Christ previous to his incarnation in the Virgin Mary, not only various manifestations, but also human “emotions and sufferings,” and an unwearying intercession for mankind, his brethren. But in the Virgin Mary he assumed *mortal* flesh. The body of Jesus Christ assuming the flesh and blood of the blessed Virgin, will as little be composed of two different bodies, as a white and shining garment having been dipped in a vessel dark and full of colour, and coming into contact with the matter which produces this darkness, is on that account changed into a

double garment, or into two garments instead of one. (Comp. Schwenkfeld, note 3.)

§ 266.

FURTHER DOCTRINAL DEVELOPEMENT AND INTERNAL CONTROVERSIES.

The theologians of the Lutheran Church further developed the *Locus de persona Christi*, by distinguishing between *three different genera of the communicatio idiomatum*,⁽¹⁾ which were brought into connection with the two states of Christ's exaltation and humiliation (*status exaltationis et inanitionis*).⁽²⁾ To this they added the theory of the *three offices of Christ*, viz., the prophetic, the priestly, and the kingly office.⁽³⁾ These definitions owed their origin in part to temporary controversies within the Lutheran Church, such as the controversy between the theologians of Giessen and those of Tubingen, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, concerning the *κένωσις* and *κρύψις* of the divine attributes,⁽⁴⁾ and the controversy carried on by *Aepinus*, in a previous century, respecting the *descensus Christi ad inferos*.⁽⁵⁾

(1) 1. *Genus idiomaticum*, according to which *both natures* so communicate their properties to the *person* [of Christ], that it has of both. 2. *Genus apotelesmaticum*, which consists in this, that the person so communicates itself to the two natures, that certain works which belong to the whole person (such as the redeeming) are conferred upon *one* nature alone, and carried out through it. 3. *Genus auchematicum* (*majestaticum*), mutual communication of the natures to each other by means of the communication of their properties. But inasmuch as the divine nature can neither receive any thing from the human, nor suffer any loss, we can only speak of the communication of divine pro-

perties to the human nature, whence the name (from *ἀύχημα*.) The Genus idiomaticum itself was subdivided into three species, viz. : a. *ἀντίδοσις* (alternatio) ; b. *κοινωνία τῶν θείων* ; c. *ἰδιοποίησις*. (On the defects of this division see Hase, Hutterus redivivus p. 241.)

(2) This theory had its origin in the controversy mentioned note 4., and was more precisely defined by the theologians of Saxony as follows : Status exinanitionis (humiliationis) est ea Christi conditio, in qua sec. humanam naturam, in unione personali consideratam, a majestatis divinæ perpetuo usu abstinuit atque obedientiam usque ad mortem præstitit. Status exaltationis, quo Christus sec. humanam naturam, depositis infirmitatibus carnis, plenarium divinæ majestatis usum obtinuit.—The theologians of the Reformed Church simply referred the two status to the two natures. According to the Lutherans, the birth of Christ, his circumcision, his obedience to his parents, his intercourse with men who were unworthy of it, his sufferings, death, and burial, belong to this state of humiliation ; the descensus ad inferos (Art. 9. in the Form. Concord. directed against *Aepinus* and the Calvinists), his resurrection from the dead, his ascension into heaven, and sitting down at the right hand of God, belong to the state of exaltation. On the contrary, the Calvinists, denying that Christ actually descended to hell, and referring the passages bearing upon this point to his mental sufferings and dreadful anguish, maintained that the descensus ad inferos belongs to the status exinanitionis.

(3) The munus propheticum has reference to Christ's office as a teacher and messenger sent by God to reveal his will ; the munus sacerdotale has respect to his atoning death (comp. the next §), and priestly intercession (*satisfactio et intercessio*) ; the object of the munus regium is, in the first instance, the foundation and government of the church ; but it also includes the government of the world ; on which account, a distinction was made between a kingdom of power and a kingdom of grace (the heavenly kingdom.) *Gerhard* : Regnum potentiæ est generale dominium super omnia, videlicet gubernatio cœli et terræ, subjectio omnium creaturarum, dominium in medio inimicorum, quos reprimit, coërcet et punit. Regnum gratiæ est specialis operatio gratiæ in ecclesia, videlicet missio, illuminatio ac conservatio

apostolorum, doctorum et pastorum, collectio ecclesiæ per prædicationem evangelii et dispensationem sacramentorum, regeneratio, etc. Regnum gloriæ conspicietur in resuscitatione mortuorum et universali judicio ejusque executione. Comp. Thummus (Theod.) de triplici Christi officio. Tub. 1627. 4.

(⁴) The theologians of Tubingen (Luke Osiander, Theodore Thummus, and Melchior Nicolai) supposed that Christ, during his state of humiliation, continued to possess the divine properties of omnipotence, omnipresence, etc., but concealed them from men; the divines of Giessen (Menzer and Feuerborn) asserted that he voluntarily laid them aside. For further particulars see Dorner p. 179 ss. Schröckh iv. p. 670 ss. Comp. Thummii *ταπεινωσυγραφία* sacra, Tub. 1623. 4. and Nicolai *consideratio theolog.* 4. *quæstionum controversarum de profundissima κενώσει* Christi, ibidem 1622. 4.

(⁵) *Aepinus* (John Höck, died 1533) in an exposition of Ps. xvi. (Francof. 1644.) taught that Christ's descent to hell belonged to his state of humiliation, because his soul suffered the punishments of hell while his body remained in the grave. He denied that 1 Pet. iii. 18. 19. has a reference to the descensus ad inferos, but was opposed by many theologians. See Planck v. 1. p. 251 ss. Schröckh l. c. p. 541 ss.

§ 267.

THE DOCTRINE OF ATONEMENT.

As Protestants and Roman Catholics agreed in resting their doctrines concerning theology and christology on the basis of the oecumenical symbols [the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds], so they established in common the doctrine of atonement on Anselm's theory of satisfaction,⁽¹⁾ only with this difference, that (in connection with other principles) the Protestants gave the preference to that aspect of this theory presented by Thomas Aquinas, while the Roman Catholics, on the contrary, were favourable (at least in

part) to the scheme of Duns Scotus.⁽²⁾ The Protestant theologians, however, so far from abiding by the doctrine of Anselm, carried their definitions to an extreme in two ways. On the one hand, they so extended the idea of sufferings which are inflicted upon our substitute, as to make it include the divine curse (*mors æterna*)⁽³⁾—an opinion which was combated by the divines of the Romish Church.⁽⁴⁾ On the other, they asserted the active obedience of Christ, together with the passive, referring the former to the complete obedience which he yielded to the law.⁽⁵⁾ Both opinions were intimately connected with the Protestant doctrine of justification. But while the advocates of orthodox theology thus went to an extreme, the adherents of the negative system of *Socinus* endeavoured, by dialectical reasoning, to prove the incorrectness of Anselm's theory, and, by the application of a peculiar system of interpretation, to explain away all such Scriptures as appeared favourable to the views of their opponents.⁽⁶⁾ By this atomistic treatment of the doctrine in question, the Socinians lost sight of the more profound significance of Christ's death, in which they perceived nothing but, *first*, the death of a martyr which ought to induce others thus to lay down their lives; *secondly*, the confirmation of divine promises; and, *lastly*, the necessary transition to his state of exaltation.⁽⁷⁾ The *Arminians* endeavoured to take an intermediate position between the Socinians and the advocates of orthodoxy. The subtile distinction made by *Grotius* between *satisfactio* and *solutio*, and the idea that God, by inflicting death upon Christ, had established an example of arbitrary punishment, were untenable modifications of Anselm's theory. He thus deprived it of its characteristic features, without removing all the difficulties raised by the sceptical tendency of the Socinians.⁽⁸⁾ Afterwards

Curcellæus and *Limborch* returned to the idea of a sacrifice, as set forth in the Old Testament, which the theologians, previous to the time of Anselm, had generally adopted.⁽⁹⁾ This theory was introduced into the Arminian works on systematic theology, and approved of by the Socinians of the next period.⁽¹⁰⁾ The Quakers admitted the orthodox doctrine, that atonement has once been made by the death of Christ, but connected with it the idea of a second atonement which is realized internally. In accordance with their entire economy of redemption, and the opinions of the mystics in general, they regarded this second atonement as the essential redeeming principle.⁽¹¹⁾

(1) However much Roman Catholics and Protestants differed as to the *causes* and *consequences* of Christ's death (sin and justification), they were in perfect accordance respecting its object. "*It is the common doctrine of Protestants and Roman Catholics, that the sufferings or merits of Christ objectively possess an infinite value.*" Baur. p. 344. On this account little was determined concerning this point during the earlier part of the Reformation. *Melancthon did not even in the later editions of his loci theologici treat of the theory of satisfaction in a particular place, nor did he lay any great stress upon it, but included all that had reference to it, in the doctrine concerning justifying faith. The same may be said with regard to those passages in the Augustina and the Apologia which refer to the atoning death of Christ.*" Baur. p. 289. Comp. Conf. August. Art. iii. p. 10. Apolog. iii. p. 93. : (Lex damnat omnes homines, sed Christus, quia sine peccato subiit poenam peccati, et victima pro nobis factus est, instituit illud jus legis, ne accuset, ne damnet nos, qui credant in ipsum, quia ipse est propitiatio pro eis propter quam nunc justi reputantur.)

(2) There were indeed some eminent Roman Catholic writers, among whom *Bellarmin*, who sided with Thomas Aquinas, but (to judge from some expressions) it would appear that even with them the scheme of *Duus Scotus* enjoyed greater authority.

Comp. Baur, p. 345. with p. 348. A further difference was this, that in the opinion of the Roman Catholics, by the death of Christ, satisfaction had only been made for sins committed before baptism, while it was only the *eternal* punishments due to mortal sins committed after baptism which had been remitted, so that Christians had themselves to undergo temporal punishments. They also asserted that the merits of Christ were supererogatory, while Protestants thought that they were equivalent to the penalties to be inflicted upon men. Comp. the passages quoted by Winer p. 77. And lastly, according to Roman Catholics, Christ by his sufferings obtained merit for himself; this opinion was also adopted by some Calvinistic theologians (*e. g.* Piscator.) See Baur p. 349. 50.

(³) *Gerhard*, Loci theologici xvii. ii. c. 54. : Quomodo enim peccato nostra vere in se suscepisset ac perfectam satisfactionem præstitisset, nisi iram Dei individuo nexu cum peccatis conjunctam vere sensisset? Quomodo a maledicto legis nos redemisset, factus pro nobis maledictum, nisi judicium Dei irati persensisset? Nor did the Catech. Heidelb. restrict the passive obedience of Christ to his sacrifice made on the cross (as Anselm had done) but it expressly stated (Qu. 37.) that Christ “had borne the divine wrath during the whole period of his earthly life.” And in Qu. 44. mention was made of his *mental sufferings*, to which the theologians of the Reformed church, generally speaking, attached greater importance. See Beckhaus l. c. p. 68. 69.

(⁴) *Bellarmin* pronounced this doctrine “a new, unheard of heresy.” Baur, p. 348.

(⁵) This doctrine of obedientia activa was most prominently brought forward in the Formula Concord. On the question whether, and in what manner it had previously existed, see the Evangelische Kirchen. Zeitung 1834. p. 523. and on the other side Baur p. 297. Note. “*Even Ch. W. F. Walch, who was well read in theological literature, observes in his Comment. de Obedient. Christi activa p. 30 : Quis primus hujus formulæ fuerit auctor, certe definire non audeo.*” Baur p. 301. Form. Conc. p. 684. : Cum enim Christus non tantum homo, verum Deus et homo sit, in una persona indivisa, tam non fuit legi subjectus, quam non fuit passioni et morti (ratione suæ personæ) obnoxius, quia Dominus legis erat. Eam ob causam ipsius obedientia (non

ea tantum, qua Patri paruit in tota sua passione et morte, verum etiam, qua nostra causa sponte sese legi subjecit, eamque obedientia illa sua implevit) nobis ad justitiam imputatur, ita, ut Deus propter totam obedientiam, quam Christus *agendo et patiando*, in vita et morte sua nostra causa Patri suo cœlesti præstitit, peccata nobis remittat, pro bonis et justis nos reputet, et salute æterna donet.—P. 686 : Propter obedientiam Christi, quam Christus inde a nativitate sua usque ad ignominiosissimam crucis mortem pro nobis Patri suo præstitit, boni et justii pronuntiantur et reputantur. Comp. p. 696 : (Cum autem, ut supra commemoratum est, obedientia, illa Christi, non sit unius duntaxat naturæ, sed totius personæ : ideo ea est perfectissima pro humano genere satisfactio et expiatio, qua æternæ et immutabili justitiæ divinæ satis est factum.) Nor did the earlier Calvinistic theologians make such a distinction between obedientia activa et passiva. Comp. Calvin, Institut. ii. 16. 5. ss. See Baur p. 333. On the the contrary, the Form Consens. which was afterwards composed, agreed with the Form. Concord. : (in opposition to *George Karg* and *Piscator*. See § 268.) Art. 15 : Spiritus quoque Dei rotundo ore asserit, Christum sanctissima sua vita legi et justitiæ divinæ pro nobis satisfecisse, et pretium illud, quo emti sumus Deo, non in passionibus duntaxat, sed tota ejus vita legi conformata, collocat.

(⁶) Prælect. theol. see Baur p. 371. ss. They endeavoured to show that the terms satisfactio and remissio peccatorum contradict each other. Where *satisfaction* has been made, remission is no longer required, and where sin must be remitted, no satisfaction has been made. Debts are either remitted or called in. If another make the payment, it has the same value as if it had been made by the debtor himself, and a remission is out of the question. Nor can punishments be compared to debts. The former are something quite personal which cannot be transferred from one person to another. The sufferings of the innocent could not satisfy the requirements of divine justice which demanded the punishment of the guilty. But mercy could pardon without inflicting punishment. And lastly, what Christ has done and suffered for us, is no true equivalent. Not only had the whole human race deserved eternal death, but *every* sinner had for himself deserved the same penalty on account of his own actions.

But Christ neither died eternal death, nor did his temporal death take place more than *once* (instead of several deaths.) Further, the sufferings and death of Christ had not the character of punishments, but formed the point of transition by which he entered into glory. Nor can we speak of active obedience, because the man Christ owed it to God for himself; besides, one man could render obedience only for one man, but not one man for all. *Socinus* also pointed out the (possible) immoral consequences of the Protestant doctrine of justification (as did all its opponents.) Comp. Baur p. 391.

(⁷) *Socinus* determined the object of Christ's death *positively* as follows: 1. *The death of Christ was an example set before men for their imitation*: Christ. relig. Inst. (Biblioth. Fratr. Polon. T. i. p. 667.): Christus suorum fidelium servator est, primum, quia sui ipsius exemplo illos ad viam salutis, quam ingressi jam sunt, perpetuo tenendam movet atque inducit.....Quomodo vero suo exemplo potuisset Christus movere atque inducere suos fideles ad singularem illam probitatem et innocentiam, perpetuo retinendam, sine qua servari nequeunt, nisi ipse prior cruentam mortem, quæ illam facile comitatur, gustasset? Men imitating his example will also be delivered from sin, Prael. theol. p. 591: Tollit peccata Christus, quia ad pœnitentiam agendam, qua peccata delentur, cœlestibus iisque amplissimis promissis omnes allicit et movere potens est.....Tollit...peccata, quia vitæ suæ innocentissimæ exemplo omnes, qui deploratæ spei non fuerint, ad justitiæ et sanctitatis studium, peccatis relictis amplectendum, facillime adducit. The deliverance from sin is brought about in a psychologico-moral way. 2. *It was the confirmation of the promises made by God*: De Jesu Christo servatore P. 1.: c. 3. (Bibl. T. ii. p. 127.): Mortuus igitur est Christus ut novum et æternum Dei fœdus, cujus ipse mediator fuerat, stabiliret ac conservaret. Et adeo hac ratione divina promissa confirmavit, ut Deum ipsum quodammodo ad ea nobis præstanda devinxerit, et sanguis ejus assidue ad patrem clamat, ut promissorum suorum, quæ ipse Christus nobis illius nomine annunciavit, pro quibus confirmandis suum ipsius sanguinem fundere non recusavit, meminisse velit.—Comp. Cat. Racov. qu. 383. With this is connected the assurance of the forgiveness of sins: De Christo serv. c. 13: Morte Christi, seu ejus supplicio peracto, nemo est, qui Deum nos

suprema caritate amplexum non agnoscat, eum erga nos placatissimum non videat, et jam sibi universa delicta condonata esse, pro certo habeat. 3. *The necessary means preparatory to his resurrection, by which he entered into glory.* Cat. Racov. p. 265. (see Winer p. 74.):...Deinde (mortuus est) quod per mortem pervenerit ad resurrectionem, ex qua maxima oritur divinæ voluntatis confirmatio deque nostra resurrectione et vitæ æternæ adeptione certissima persuasio.—With this is connected the feeling of compassion which Christ, in his state of exaltation, has toward men, and according to which he delivers them from death, Christ. relig. institut. p. 667. de Jesu Chr. serv. p. 133. see Baur p. 410. “Inasmuch as Christ employs the power granted to him by God in forgiving men their sins, and making them partakers of eternal life, the Socinians admit him to be high priest; but as Christ exercises his functions of high priest in heaven alone, his priestly office does not essentially differ from the kingly.” Comp. the passages quoted from the symbolical books of the Socinians by Winer, p. 74. 75. and Flatt, Beiträge zur christlichen Dogmatik und Moral, Tub. 1792.

(^s) *Grotius* in his treatise: *Defensio fidei catholicæ de satisfactione Christi*, 1617. in which he combated the views of Socinus, argued from the juridical proposition (c. 2.): Punire non est actus competens parti offensæ, quâ tali. God may indeed be considered as the offended party, but in inflicting punishments he does not punish quâ pars offensa (sicut Juris consultus canit non quâ Juris consultus, sed quâ Musicus.) The right of punishing belongs to God as the Sovereign of the universe, independently of the offence which may have been given to him. His punishments have a political design (ordinis nimirum conservationem et exemplum): for he does not manifest his justice in taking vengeance for offences, or compelling debtors to pay their debts (which he might voluntarily remit), but in punishing the wicked. That in certain cases punishment is inflicted upon the innocent, proves nothing; similar instances might be adduced from the history of other nations, e. g. the decimating of the Roman legions.(!) Nihil ergo iniquitatis in eo est, quod Deus, cujus est summa potestas ad omnia per se non injusta, nulli ipse legi obnoxius, cruciatibus et morte Christi uti voluit ad statuendum exemplum grave adversus culpas immensas nostrum omnium,

quibus Christus erat conjunctissimus natura, regno, vadimonio (c. 4. towards the end.) He endeavoured to meet the objection made by Socinus, by making a distinction between satisfactio and solutio. It is the latter which excludes the remissio peccatorum, because matters having been settled between creditor and debtor, no further demand can be made upon the latter. But the satisfactio (in the sense applied to it by Grotius) does not exclude the possibility of a remissio (c. 6, 6. p. 78.)—Comp. *Luden*, Hugo Grotius p. 100 ss. *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* 1834. No. 66.—*Seisen* (§ 182.) p. 30 ss.—In the formal, juridical aspect, the theory of Grotius resembled that of Anselm, but was not so profound, either from the theological or juridical point of view. It was based upon political rather than juridical premises, and seemed to ascribe to God a despotic character. It could not satisfy either the feeling or the reason of Christians, while the theory of Anselm accomplished the former, and that of the Socinians the latter, though both were one-sided and imperfect. Grotius, indeed, not only rejected the idea of “Acceptilation,” but also unjustly charged Socinus with holding it, nevertheless “*there is no theory to which the idea of acceptilation could be applied with greater propriety than that of Grotius.*” Baur p. 428. “*Grotius as well as Socinus attached principal importance to the moral impression which the death of Christ is calculated to produce, with this difference only, that Grotius takes this moral principle negatively, Socinus positively; for, in the opinion of Grotius, the moral effect of Christ’s death consists in the exhibition of the punishment due to sin, according to Socinus, in the moral courage which Christ manifested in his death.*” Baur p. 431. 32. Nor was the theory of Grotius in accordance with the (orthodox) doctrine concerning the nature of Christ, since the effect spoken of by Grotius might have been produced by another than a God-man; comp. *ibid.* p. 433.—The defects of this theory were exposed by *Crell*, a Socinian writer, in his: *Responsio ad librum Hug. Grotii, quem de satisfactione Christi adversum Faustum Socinum Senensem scripsit.* 1623. *Bibl. Fratr. Polon.* T. v. p. 1 ss. Concerning this treatise, and the further progress of the controversy, see Baur p. 438 ss.

⁽⁹⁾ *Curcellæus*, *rel. christ. instit.* v. 19. 15 ss. advanced the

same arguments against the theory of Anselm which Socinus had made use of, but laid greater stress upon the idea of *sacrifice*: Non ergo, ut vulgo putant, satisfecit Christus patiendo omnes pœnas, quas peccatis nostris merueramus: nam primo istud ad sacrificii rationem non pertinet, sacrificia enim non sunt solutiones debitorum; secundo Christus non est passus mortem æternam, quæ erat pœna peccato debita, nam paucis tantum horis in cruce pependit et tertia die resurrexit. Imo etiamsi mortem æternam pertulisset, non videtur satisfacere potuisse pro omnibus totius mundi peccatis: hæc enim fuisset tantum una mors, quæ omnibus mortibus, quas singuli pro suis peccatis meruerant, non æquivaluisset. *Limborch* also rested his argumentation mainly upon the idea of sacrifice (*Apol. thes.* 3. 22. 5.), which, according to his definition, is not plenaria satisfactio pro peccatis, but only the condition of the gratuita peccati remissio... Voluntas divina in unica hac victima acquievit. *Comp. Baur* p. 442 ss.

⁽¹⁰⁾ See *Baur* p. 451 note.

⁽¹¹⁾ *Barclay Apol. Thes.* vii. 2. given by *Winer* p. 76. *Baur* p. 467 ss. Concerning the other mystics: *Schwenckfeld*, *Weigel*, *Böhm*, see *ibid.* p. 459 ss. and *comp.* the §§ on justification and sanctification.

§ 268.

DIFFERENCES OF OPINION WITHIN THE LUTHERAN AND REFORMED CHURCHES.

Osiander, a Lutheran theologian, propounded a new theory respecting the sufferings of Christ, in connection with his views of the relation in which justification stands to sanctification. In his opinion it was only the *Divine* nature of our Lord which became our righteousness,⁽¹⁾ while, according to the orthodox doctrine, Christ suffered death on our account in his character as God-man. On the contrary, *Stancarus* asserted, that it was only the *human* nature of our Saviour which submitted to suffering.⁽²⁾ But his opinion was rejected by the or-

thodox theologians of the three principal sections of the Church. Among the Calvinistic theologians, *John Piscator* (after the example of *George Kay*, a Lutheran clergyman) combated the doctrine of an *obedientia activa*, maintaining that Christ, for himself, owed active obedience to God.⁽³⁾ In opposition to the views of these individuals, as well as to those of the sects, both Lutheran and Calvinistic divines firmly established, and formally developed the doctrine of satisfaction. In works on systematic theology, it took its place in christology, along with the three offices of Christ (viz. as his priestly office), and also together with justification as its *causa meritoria*.⁽⁴⁾

⁽¹⁾ Conf. M. 3. p. 93: *Diserte et clare respondeo, quod sec. divinam suam naturam sit nostra justitia et non sec. humanam naturam, quamvis hanc divinam justitiam extra ejus humanam naturam non possumus invenire...consequi aut apprehendere; verum cum ipse per fidem in nobis habitat, tum affert suam justitiam, quæ est ejus divina natura, secum in nos, quæ deinde nobis etiam imputatur ac si esset nostra propria, immo et donatur nobis manaque ex ipsius humana natura, tamquam ex capite, etiam in nos, tamquam ipsius membra.* On the relation in which his doctrine stood to some earlier opinions respecting Christ's mystical body, see Baur p. 327. 28. Concerning the (similar) views entertained by *Calvin*, see *ibid.* p. 331 ss.

⁽²⁾ *Franciscus Stancaricus* of Mantua (died 1574 in Poland.) His theory, which was represented as Nestorianism, was condemned by both Protestants (Form. Concord.) and Roman Catholics (Bellarmin), see Baur p. 347. Calvin also opposed him. *Wigand*, de Stancarismo et Osiandrismo, 1585. 4. Schlüsselburg, Cat. Hæret. lib. ix.

⁽³⁾ *John Piscator*, a Calvinistic theologian in Herborn, lived towards the close of the sixteenth and commencement of the seventeenth century.—*George Karg* (Parsimonius) gave publicity to his views A. D. 1563, but renounced them 1570. Comp. *Walch*, *Einleitung in die Religionsstreitigkeiten der evangelischlutherischen Kirche*, Vol. iv. p. 360 ss. Baur p. 352 ss.

(4) Compare the compendiums of systematic theology.

The theory of Anselm made the appearance of Christ on earth dependent upon the existence of sin; according to *Osiander* and the *Socinians*, he would have manifested himself though there had been no sin in the world. *Osiander* has investigated this subject very fully in a separate treatise (which has now become rare): *An Filius Dei fuerit incarnandus, si peccatum non introivisset in mundum?* Königsb. 1550. Comp. Schülsselburg Catt. Haer. lib. vi. p. 48 ss. Baur p. 329.

§ 269.

BAPTISM.

One of those doctrines in which Roman Catholics and Protestants agreed, in opposition to the minor religious sects, was that concerning baptism.⁽¹⁾ For, though the rite itself was differently performed by Roman Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists,⁽²⁾ though differences of opinion obtained respecting the efficacy of baptism, as regards original sin, and the fate of those children who die unbaptized,⁽³⁾ they all entertained essentially the same view of the *nature* of baptism, asserting, 1. Its general necessity (in opposition to the Quakers);⁽⁴⁾ 2. Its character as a sacrament (in opposition to the Socinians);⁽⁵⁾ and, 3. The necessity of infant-baptism (in opposition to the Mennonites).⁽⁶⁾ And, lastly, the Roman Catholics, in accordance with their view of the baptism of heretics, were compelled to acknowledge the validity of Protestant baptism, while, on the other hand, the Protestants always regarded Romish baptism as a Christian ordinance, and never thought of re-baptizing those who were converted to their own faith.⁽⁷⁾

(1) "Of all the sacraments, that of baptism is the one respecting which Roman Catholics could always unite most easily with Protestants, and would have had the least reason for framing particular canons, in order to keep up any difference in respect

to points of secondary importance." Marheinecke, Symbolik i. p. 149. The Reformers also declared, that of all the sacraments, that of baptism was least corrupted, and that this ordinance had more than any other been preserved from the addition of heterogeneous elements. Lutheri Opp. lat. Jen. T. ii. p. 284. (Marheinecke l. c.)

(²) On the use of chrisma (ointment), of salt, the lactis et mellis degustatio, and other ceremonies common among Roman Catholics, the formulas of exorcism used by Lutherans, etc., as well as on the usages of the Greek Church, see the works on archæology. "As regards the water," said *Zwinglius*, (von der Taufe, Works ii. 1. p. 299.), "it should be taken good, fresh, and pure; for as John baptized in the river Jordan, we ought not to allow the bishops to attach so much importance to the salt."

(³) Comp. § 245. According to the Roman Catholic doctrine, original sin being removed by baptism, all that remains in the baptized is the concupiscentia, which is lex fomitis, but not sin; in the opinion of the Protestants, original sin still remains in the baptized (as they regarded concupiscence itself as sinful), but is no longer imputed. Comp. Conc. Trid. Sess. 5. 5. and on the other side Apol. p. 56. : [Hic flagellant adversarii etiam Lutherum, quod scripserit, peccatum originis manere post baptismum.....Sciunt enim adversarii, in quam sententiam Lutherus hoc dictum velit, quod peccatum originis reliquum sit post baptismum. Semper ita scripsit, quod baptismus tollat reatum peccati originalis, etiamsi materiale, ut isti vocant, peccati maneat, videlicet concupiscentia. Addidit etiam de materiali, quod Spiritus Sanctus, datus per baptismum; incipit mortificare concupiscentiam et novos motus ereat in homine.]—For further passages compare Winer p. 64. and especially Calvin, Institut. c. 15. § 10 ss.—Concerning the condemnation of unbaptized children, see Winer p. 131 ss.

(⁴) Comp. § 257. note 6.

(⁵) The *Socinians* regarded baptism as a mere act of dedication. In respect to this ordinance *Zwinglius* did not go so far as the authors of the later Calvinistic confessions of faith. According to his Conf. fidei ad Carol. v. baptism is of importance only as the visible sign of our admission into the church. "Non quod baptismus rem præstet, sed ut rem prius præstitam multitudini

testetur." Von der Taufe, Werke ii. 1. p. 301.: "The soul cannot be purified in this world by any element or external thing, but its purification must proceed from the grace of God alone. Hence it follows that baptism cannot wash away our sins. Since it cannot wash away our sins, and yet is instituted by God, it must be a sign by which the people of God dedicate themselves to his service, but nothing else." The passages from the symbolical writings of the Socinians are given by Winer p. 128. Similar views were entertained by the Arminians and Mennonites, who regarded baptism as a symbolical communication of grace, *ibid.* p. 129. *Luther* expressed himself very differently in his Postille iii. 34. Walch xii. p. 714: "And thus the *blood of Christ* is so intimately mingled with the water of baptism, that we should neither regard it as merely clean water, but look upon it as water beautifully coloured and reddened with the precious rose-coloured blood of our dear Saviour." (The circumstance of water and blood flowing out of Christ's side, he referred to baptism, others to the Lord's Supper.) Comp. also his Catech. major: "Perceive ye now that [the water of] baptism is very different from all other kinds of water, not on account of its nature, but because something higher has been added, viz. the glory, power, and might of God himself. Therefore it is not only natural water, but divine, heavenly, holy, and blessed water, and what other praise may be bestowed upon it, on account of the Word, which is a holy, heavenly Word, which cannot be too highly spoken of."

(6) The Anabaptists, like the reformers, rested their opinion on the formal principle of Scripture. Their assertion that infant baptism was not commanded in Scripture, was combated by the reformers, who, in support of their opinion, appealed to Mark x. 15; 1 Cor. xvi. 15; Acts xvi. 15; but these passages do not prove the point in question. See Zuinglius's *Schrift vom Touf, vom Wider-touf and vom Kindertouf* (edit. of Schulthess ii. 2. p. 230.) which may be compared with his Latin treatise; "in Catabaptistarum strophas elenchus." (Zuinglius made a distinction between spiritual baptism and baptism by water. The more he regarded the latter as an external rite, the less he would hesitate to administer it to infants.) He, as well as Calvin and the successors of Calvin in general, compared infant baptism to the analogous rite of *Cir-*

circumcision under the Old Testament dispensation. *Zuinglius* l. c. p. 297: "Circumcision was a sign of faith (Rom. iv. 11.) and applied to children. Now we have baptism instead of circumcision; therefore it ought also to be administered to children. They (the Anabaptists) cannot well digest this syllogism, because it is so strongly supported by the Word of God." For the symbolical books of the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed churches see *Winer* p. 130. (*Apol. Confess. Aug.* p. 156: *Et cum plerosque alios errores Anabaptistarum damnamus, tum hunc quoque, quod disputant Baptismum parvulorum inutilem esse. Certissimum est enim, quod promissio salutis pertinet etiam ad parvulos. Neque vero pertinet ad illos, qui sunt extra ecclesiam Christi, ubi nec verbum, nec sacramenta sunt, quia regnum Christi tantum cum verbo, et sacramentis existit. Igitur necesse est baptizare parvulos, ut applicetur eis promissio salutis, juxtam mandatum Christi (Matth. xxviii. 19.) ubi sicut offertur omnibus salus, ita offertur omnibus Baptismus, viris, mulieribus, pueris, infantibus.....**Luther's Catechism major* p. 544: *Puerorum baptismum Christo placere et gratum esse, suo ipsius opere abunde ostenditur, nempe quod Deus illorum, non paucos sanctificat, eosdemque Spiritu Sancto impertivit, qui statim a bis partu infantes baptizati sunt. Sunt etiam hodie non parum multi, quos certis indiciis animadvertimus Spiritum Sanctum habere, cum doctrinæ eorum, tum etiam vitæ nomine; sicut et nobis gratia Dei datum et concessum est, nosse Scripturas interpretari, et Christum cognoscere, quod citra Spiritum Sanctum nullo modo fieri posse, nemo dubitat. At si puerorum baptismus Christo non probaretur: nulli horum Spiritum Sanctum, aut ne particulam quidem ejus impertiret, atque ut summam, quod sentio, eloquar, per tot sæcula quæ ad hunc usque diem elapsa sunt, nullus hominum christianus perhibendus esset. Quoniam vero Deus baptismum sui Sancti Spiritus donatione confirmat, id quod in non nullis Patribus.....non obscuris argumentis intelligitur, neque sancta christianorum ecclesia usque ad consummationem sæculi interibit: fateri coguntur, Deo baptismum non displicere. Neque enim sibi ipse potest esse contrarius, aut mendaciis et nequitia suffragari, neque huic promovendæ gratiam suam ac Spiritum suum impertire. Et hæc fere optima et firmissima est pro simplicibus et indoctis comprobatio. Neque enim hunc articu-*

lum : Credo ecclesiam catholicam, communionem sanctorum, etc. nobis eripient aut subvertent unquam.) For the views of the later Lutheran and Calvinistic theologians (concerning the faith of infants according to Matth. xviii. 6, and the responsibility which the godfather and godmother take upon themselves) see De Wette p. 179. 180.—The *Socinians* and *Arminians* approved of infant baptism, but did not think it necessary. Comp. Winer p. 132. *Labadie* and his followers, in accordance with their other principles, not only rejected infant baptism as such, but in general the baptism of every unregenerate person, whether young or old. See Arnold *Kirchen und Ketzergesch.* vol. ii. B. xvii. c. 21. § 17.

⁽⁷⁾ Comp. Winer p. 133. note 1. It was only some fanatical priests at the time of the Reformation who in this respect did not act in accordance with the principles of their own church. The Mennonites at first re-baptized those who joined them, but afterwards discontinued this usage. Nor did the followers of *Labadie* re-baptize those who had been baptized in their infancy. (Arnold l. c.) Some of the fanatical sects, however, continued to repeat the act of baptism.

§ 270.

ESCHATOLOGY.

And, lastly, Protestants and Roman Catholics were in perfect accordance as to the doctrine of the last things⁽¹⁾ (with the exception of the doctrine concerning purgatory, § 260.) The minor sects also adopted the same views respecting the *second advent* of Christ to judge the world, and the resurrection of the body. As regards the *state of the blessed and the damned*, the opinions of the different denominations were modified in various ways by their respective creeds, but these differences were not introduced into the symbolical books.⁽²⁾ *Calvin* combated the theory called "*Psychopannychy*," revived by some Swiss Anabaptists;⁽³⁾ the Second Confessio Helvetica expressly rejected the idea

that departed spirits may re-appear on earth.⁽⁴⁾ The fanatical notions of the Anabaptists, concerning the restitution of all things and Millenarianism, met with the same fate at the hands of the Lutherans.⁽⁵⁾ Nevertheless several Protestant writers, on various occasions, revived Millenarian errors, which were also cultivated by the mystics.⁽⁶⁾ *William Petersen* and his wife,⁽⁷⁾ having misunderstood Spener's doctrine concerning happier times that are to come, and the future establishment of God's kingdom on earth,⁽⁸⁾ announced the speedy approach of the Millennial reign.

(1) Protestant theologians generally enumerated the following four particulars as constituting what is called the last things: mors, resurrectio, extremum judicium and consummatio mundi: some however adopted other modes of counting. Comp. De Wette p. 207.

(2) Conf. Aug. Art. 17. (p. 14.): Item docent, quod Christus apparebit in consummatione mundi ad judicandum, et mortuos omnes resuscitabit, piis et *electis* dabit vitam æternam et perpetua gaudia, impios autem homines ac diabolos condemnabit, ut sine fine crucientur (the same doctrine is set forth in the other symbolical books.) It was not until later that theologians endeavoured (in the Spirit of the scholastics) to define the distinction between that happiness which the soul will enjoy *without* the body, and that of which it will partake after the resurrection of the body. The general judgment at the end of the world was also separated from the judicium extremum particulare et occultum which takes place after the death of each individual.

(3) He wrote: *Traité, par le quel est prouvé, que les âmes veillent et vivent après qu'elles sont sorties des corps*, Orléans, 1534. It was also translated into Latin under the title: *Psychopannychia, quo refellitur eorum error, qui animos post mortem usque ad ultimum judicium dormire putant*. Par. 1534. Comp. Henry i. p. 63. ss.—The question started by some of the Fathers, whether the soul of itself possesses immortality (vol. i. §. 58.) was also revived in the seventeenth century. *Henry Dodwell*, a learned divine of the Church of England, in order to attach additional

importance to the doctrine of baptismal grace, asserted that the soul is itself mortal, but rendered immortal by becoming connected with the Divine Spirit in baptism. None but the Episcopal church enjoys the true possession of this baptismal grace! This assertion gave rise to several replies. The controversy lasted principally from the year 1706 to 1708. See *Lechler*, *Geschichte des englischen Deismus*, p. 211. ss.—*Will. Coward* (1702–1704) defended the idea of a sleep of the soul. *Comp. Baumgarten*, *Geschichte der Religionsparteien* p. 71.

(⁴) Art. 26. (in reference to the doctrine of purgatory): Jam quod traditur de spiritibus vel animabus mortuorum apparentibus aliquando viventibus, et petentibus ab eis officia, quibus, liberentur, deputamus, apparitiones eas inter ludibria, artes et deceptiones diaboli, qui, ut potest se transfigurare in angelum lucis, ita satagit fidem veram vel evertere, vel in dubium revocare. (Deut. xviii. 10. 11. Luc. xvi. 31.)

(⁵) Conf. Aug. l. c.: Damnant Anabaptistas, qui sentiunt, hominibus damnatis ac diabolis finem pœnarum futurum esse. Damnant et alios, qui nunc spargunt judaïcas opiniones, quod ante resurrectionem mortuorum, pii regnum mundi occupaturi sint, upique oppressis impiis.

(⁶) *Valentin Weigel*, *Jacob Böhm*, *Felgenhauer*, *Drabicius*, *Quirinus*, *Kuhlmann*, etc. *Comp. Corrodi*, *Geschichte des Chiliasmus*, und *Adelung*, *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit*.

(⁷) *John William Petersen* (was from the year 1688 superintendent in Lüneburg, dismissed 1692, and died 1727 on his estate Thymern near Zerbst) published from 1700 to 1710 his *Mysterium Apocatastaseos*, in which the common millennarian doctrine (concerning a twofold resurrection, and Christ's visible kingdom on earth, which will last a thousand years) was connected with Origen's notion of the restitution of all things.^a His wife, *Johanna Eleonora von Merlau*, agreed with him in all points; both boasted of having received particular revelations from God. See *Petersen's Autobiography* 1717. *Corrodi* iii. 2. p. 133 ss. *Schröckh*, *Kirchengesch. nach der Reformat.* viii. p. 302 ss.

(⁸) *Spener*, firmly believing in the final victory of Christianity,

^a He also held the idea of Christ's heavenly body (compare § 263. note 7.)

entertained "*the hope of better times.*" Previous to the general judgment the Jews will be converted, and papacy overthrown. But in his opinion this glorious state does not abrogate the kingdom of grace, nor will it manifest itself in a visible manner. He did not venture to determine anything respecting the exact period of time (the period of a thousand years.) "*But his opponents found no difficulty in drawing invidious inferences from the moderate hopes of Spener.*" Schröckh viii. p. 292. The views of *Joachim Lange*, concerning the revelations of John, were more literal than those of his master; see Corrodi iii. 1. p. 108 ss.

FIFTH PERIOD.

FROM THE YEAR 1720 TO THE PRESENT
DAY.

THE AGE OF CRITICISM, OF SPECULATION, AND
OF ANTITHESIS BETWEEN FAITH AND KNOW-
LEDGE, PHILOSOPHY AND CHRISTIANITY, REA-
SON AND REVELATION.

A. GENERAL HISTORY OF DOCTRINES DURING
THE FIFTH PERIOD.

§ 271.

INTRODUCTION.

Von Einem, I. A., Versuch einer Geschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts. Leipz. 1776 ss. *Schlegel*, Kirchengeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts. Heilbr. 1784 ss. ii. continued by *Fraas*. *Schlosser*, Geschichte des 18 und 19. Jahrhunderts. Heidelberg. 1836 ss. 2d vol. to the year 1763. (For a more complete account of the literature see Hase, Kirchengeschichte 1841. p. 455. 56.)

Gieseler, I. K. L., Rückblick auf die theologische und kirchliche Entwicklung der letzten 50 Jahre. Gött. 1837. (kritische Prediger Bibliothek xviii. part 5. p. 908 ss.) On the other side: *Tholuck*, Abriss und Geschichte der Umwälzung, welche seit 1750 auf dem Gebiet der Theologie in Deutschland stattgefunden, in the Berliner evangelische Kirchenzeitung 1838.

(see his *Vermischte Schriften* vol. ii.) The antirationalistic literature from the commencement of the nineteenth century is given in Tholuck's *Literarischer Anzeiger*, 1836. No. 15-18.

The spirit of investigation having been awakened, and the belief in human authority having been shaken by the Reformation of the sixteenth century, the signal was given for a more liberal, progressive movement. But as the Reformers, at the same time, declared, in terms quite as decided, that no other foundation can be laid than that which is laid, and strengthened the belief in the divine authority of Scripture, they directed the attention of Christians to the past condition of the Church as a something to be restored. Neither of these two points should be overlooked, if we would form a correct judgment of Protestantism, and its importance in history. During the first half of the sixteenth, and the whole of the seventeenth century, most theologians had lost sight of its true significance as regards the former aspect, by again submitting to the yoke of human authority, and thus preventing all progress. The very opposite tendency characterizes the eighteenth century. Theologians and philosophers, animated by an ardent desire after enlightenment and spiritual liberty, gradually renounced their allegiance to the only foundation on which the Reformers had thought it safe to build, and for which, no less than for liberty, the martyrs of the Protestant Church had shed their blood. The authority of Holy Writ was by degrees lessened, together with that of the symbolical books, and not long after, *those* doctrines which the earlier Protestants, as well as Roman Catholics, had rejected, as opposed to the spirit of Christianity, became prevalent in various sections of the church. But in the midst of the contests and storms of those times, there were found some men of a conservative tendency; attempts were also made to restore

what had been destroyed, and to bring about a reconciliation between the two extremes. It is the task of the history of doctrines during this last period, to represent this remarkable struggle in all its details, and to treat of them separately, as well as in their relation to each other.

§ 272.

INFLUENCE OF PHILOSOPHY UPON THEOLOGY.

There is perhaps no better argument for the practical nature of Christianity than the fact, that it owed neither its origin, nor the restoration of its purer principles, to a system of philosophy.⁽¹⁾ At the same time, its more profound speculative import, and considerable importance in a scientific aspect, are clearly proved by this, that it has always met with either a hostile or a friendly treatment at the hands of philosophers who have endeavoured either to destroy it, or to introduce into it their own speculations.⁽²⁾ The attempt made by the scholastics appeared at first successful. But after the vain subtleties of the schools had brought philosophy into disrepute among evangelical Christians, the Protestant Church, which had opposed scholasticism, kept aloof for some time from the speculations of philosophers which had now assumed a more systematic form.⁽³⁾ But it must be admitted, that Protestantism itself gave rise to modern philosophy, and furthered its development.

⁽¹⁾ Comp. vol. i. p. 32. 33. and § 211.

⁽²⁾ It is sufficient to remind our readers of the phenomena of Neoplatonism, Gnosticism, and the philosophy of the school of

Alexandria during the first period, and of scholasticism during the third.

(³) Comp. § 238.

§ 273.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF WOLF.

* *Wuttke, H.*, Christian Wolffs eigene Lebensbeschreibung, Leipz. 1841.
Ludovici, Entwurf einer Historie der Wolfischen Philosophie, Leipz. 1737. iii.

It was not until the philosophy of Leibnitz (in that modified form which owed its origin to *Christian Wolf*)⁽¹⁾ had obtained more general authority, that it extended its influence also to theology. The attempt to establish a system of natural religion, on the principle of demonstration (independently of revelation, but not in direct opposition to it),⁽²⁾ met with a very different fate among the various parties of the church. One class of theologians, and the pietists in particular, were not only hostile to such innovations, but also persecuted their advocates.⁽³⁾ On the contrary, the adherents of that moderate and rational form of orthodoxy which, towards the commencement of the eighteenth century, was represented by some able and learned men,⁽⁴⁾ hastened to adopt the demonstrative method, thinking that they might make use of natural theology as a convenient stepping-stone for revealed religion, and thus gain a solid foundation for the truths of the latter.⁽⁵⁾

(¹) *Wolf* was born A. D. 1679, in Breslau, appointed professor of mathematics in the University of Halle (1707), dismissed from office by the order of King Frederic William I. (1723), banished (upon pain of death), lived some time in Cassel and Marburg, was recalled (1740) by King Frederic II., appointed chancellor, and died 1754.

(2) Of Wolf's works we may mention : *Vernünfftige Gedanken von Gott, der Welt und der Seele des Menschen, auch allen Dingen überhaupt*, 1719. *Anmerkungen über die vernünfftigen Gedanken, etc.* *Theologia naturalis*, 1736, etc.

(3) One of the principal opponents of Wolf was *Joachim Lange* (born 1670, died 1744, as a professor in the University of Halle); he wrote : *Causa Dei et religionis adversus naturalismum, atheismum, Judæos, Socinianos et Pontificios*, Hal. 1726. 27. iii. 8. and several other treatises. On the progress of the controversy, and the writings to which it gave rise, see the work of Wuttke mentioned above (in which many statements made by former writers were corrected.) Several other writers joined Lange in combating the principles propounded by Wolf, *e. g.* *Francke*, *M. Daniel Ströhler*, etc. *Valentine Loscher* (died 1749), and *John Francis Buddeus* of Jena (he wrote : *Bedenken über Wolf's Philosophie* 1724), as well as the University of Upsal in Sweden pronounced against him, not to mention the Roman Catholics, headed by the Jesuits; the latter, however, sometimes made use of the philosophy of Wolf in their own schools.^a

(4) Previous to the time of Wolf, *Pufendorf* had proposed to apply the mathematico-demonstrative method of argumentation to Christian theology; he expected to derive great advantage from such a treatment. See his : *Epistola ad fratrem*, in *Actorum erudit. Lips. supplem. Tom. ii. Sect. 2. p. 98. Heinrich p. 438.* About the rise of the Wolfian philosophy several other theologians had commenced (apart from what was done by Pufendorf) to treat systematic theology in a spirit more liberal, and less dependent upon the authorities generally appealed to. This shows that Wolf acted in accordance with the mind of the age. Among the number of these theologians we may mention : *Christian Matthew Pfaff* (born 1686, died 1760) : *Institutiones Theologiæ dogmat. et moral.* Tub. 1720. *J. F. Buddeus* (born 1667, died

^a The danger which many apprehended from the spread of the Wolfian philosophy, was not a mere fancy. "*It cannot well be said that the philosophy of Wolf endangered orthodox theology in a direct manner; on the contrary, we find that many of the followers of Wolf either adopted the principle of indifferentism as to positive religion, or formally confirmed it. But the distinction introduced by Wolf between natural and revealed religion, i. e., between religion which may be proved by demonstration, and religion which must be received by faith, prepared the way for the ascendancy of the deistic principle of natural religion over the theistic principle of revealed religion.*" Lechler *Geschichte des Deismus*, p. 448. Comp. Tholuck l. c. p. 10-23.

1729): *Institutiones Theologiæ dogmat.* Lips. 1723. 24. 27. 41. 40.
Christian Eberhard Weissmann (born 1677, died 1747): *Institutiones Theologiæ exegetico-dogmaticæ.* Tub. 1739. 4. *J. Lorenz von Mosheim* (born 1694, died 1755): *Elementa Theologiæ dogmat.* edited by Windheim, Norimb. 1758. 8.—In the Reformed Church it was, in addition to J. A. Turretin and Samuel Werenfels (comp. § 225.), especially *J. F. Osterwald*, pastor of Neufchatel (born 1633, died 1747), who formed the point of transition to a new state of things. His: *Compendium Theologiæ*, Basil. 1739. 8. remained for a considerable time the text-book of theology for the Swiss Calvinists.

(5) Among the Lutheran theologians who adopted the method of Wolf we may mention: *Jacob Carпов* (professor of mathematics in Weimar, born 1699, died 1768): *Oeconomia Salutis Novi Test. sive Theologia revel. dogmatica methodo scientifica adornata*, Vimar. 1737–65. iv. 4. *John Gustave Reinbeck* (born 1682, died 1741, as an ecclesiastical counsellor in Berlin; he enjoyed great reputation as a preacher): *Betrachtungen über die in der Augsb. Conf. enthaltenen und damit verknüpften göttlichen Wahrheiten*, 1731–41. iv. 4.^a *G. H. Ribow* (born 1703, died 1774): *Institutt. theol. dogm. methodo demonstrativa traditæ*, Gött. 1740. 41. *Israel Gottlieb Canz* (born 1690, died 1753): *Compend. theol. purioris*, Tüb. 1752.^b *Peter Reusch* (born 1693, died 1757): *Introductio in theol. revelatam.* *J. E. Schubert* (born 1717, died 1774): *Introductio in theol. rev.* Jen. 1749. 8. and: *Institutiones theol. dogm.* 1749. 1753. 8. *Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten* (born 1706, died 1757): *Theses theol. seu elementa doctrinæ sanctioris ad duct. breviarii* J. A. Freylinghausen, Hal. 1746. 50. 67. 8.—*Evangelische Glaubenslehre mit Einl. von Sémmler*, Halle 1759. 60. iii. 4. On the great influence which Baumgarten exerted upon his age see Tholuck ii. p. 12. Several Calvinistic theologians also followed the example of Wolf, such as: *Daniel Wytttenbach* of Berne (born 1706, died 1779 as a professor in Marburg): *Tentamen theol. dogm. methodo scienti-*

^a Immediately after the publication of the first volume of this work, the opponents of Wolf expressed their belief that its author was either a Socinian or a deist, who neither would nor could discuss the doctrine concerning Christ. But their suspicions were unfounded.

^b He also wrote: *Philosophiæ Leibnitzianæ et Wolfianæ usus in Theologia per præcipua fidei capita.* Lips. 1749. (This work enjoyed at the time a great celebrity.)

fica pertractatæ, Bern, 1741. 42. iii. 8. Francof. a. M. 1747. iv. 8. *John Frederic Stapfer* of Berne (died 1775): Institutiones theol. polemicæ, Tur. 1743-47. v. 8. Grundlegung zur wahren Relig. Zür 1746-53. xii. 8. *J. Chr. Beck* of Basle (born 1711, died 1785): Fundamenta Theol. naturalis et revelatæ, Bas. 1757. (Comp. the Prolegomena to this work, in which the author expressly recommends the study of natural religion as preparatory to that of revealed religion p. 25. 26.) Synopsis Institutionum universæ theologiæ, 1765, and *Samuel Endemann* (born 1727, died 1789, as a professor in Marburg): Institutiones theol. dogmat. T. I. II. Hanov. 1777. 8.

§ 274.

INFLUENCE OF DEISM AND NATURALISM. ATTEMPTS TO ENLIGHTEN THE MINDS OF MEN ON THE SUBJECT OF RELIGION.

Lerminier, de l'influence de la philosophie du 18e siècle, Paris 1833. Leipz. 1835. *Villemain*, Cours de littérature française. Tableau du 18e siècle, Paris 1838. Tom. ii. p. 222 ss. *Henke*, Kirchengeschichte vol. vi. edited by *Vater*. *Stäudlin*, Geschichte des Rationalismus und Supranaturalismus, Gött. 1826. p. 119 ss. *Amand Saintes*, Histoire critique du rationalisme en Allemagne, Paris et Leips. 1841. **Schlosser*, Geschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts. vol. i. p. 447. ii. p. 443 ss.

While natural theology, in that strictly scientific form which it had assumed, was thus in Germany retained within its proper limits, and made subservient to revelation, the principles of Deism and Naturalism, which had been developed in the preceding period, gained numerous adherents in England and France,⁽¹⁾ and shortly afterwards threatened to make their appearance also in Germany.⁽²⁾ During the second half of the eighteenth century, the most powerful attacks upon positive Christianity were made by the anonymous author of the "*Wolfenbüttelsche Fragmente*" (*i. e.*,

fragments of Wolfenbüttel),⁽³⁾ which gave rise to a series of controversies respecting the position which should be assigned to reason in matters of faith.⁽⁴⁾ The mind of the age, influenced as it was by *Frederic the Great*, King of Prussia,⁽⁵⁾ also contributed to the spread of deistic tendencies, especially among the higher classes. Not only the heroes of literature, during the eighteenth century,⁽⁶⁾ but also some servants of Christ, endeavoured gradually to introduce such principles among the educated, as well as the illiterate.⁽⁷⁾

(1) Comp. § 238. and the work of Lechler: *Geschichte des Deismus*. To the number of those English deists whose names are already mentioned, may be added: Viscount *Bolingbroke* (died 1751) and *David Hume* (died 1776.) The former may be said to form the transition to the frivolous naturalism and gross materialism of the French philosophers. Their principles were set forth in the *Système de la nature* (1740), in the works of *Condillac* (died 1780), *La Mettrie* (died 1751), *Helvetius* (died 1771), *Voltaire* (died 1778), and in those of the so-called Encyclopedists (*Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire universel, etc.* 1751), *d'Alembert* (died 1783), and *Diderot* (died 1784.) *Jean Jacques Rousseau* (died 1778.—*Emile, ou confessions d'un vicaire Savoyen*) differed from these as to his personal character and tendency, but was also opposed to positive religion. For a comparison instituted between the English and French deists see Henke l. c. § 10. At all events, the more profound English philosophers exerted a far more considerable influence upon the learned men of Germany, than the Frenchmen, whose writings met with greater success among the illiterate. Comp. Tholuck ii. p. 33.

(2) It is a remarkable circumstance, which however admits of a satisfactory explanation, that even some of the German mystics adopted deistic principles, *e. g.*, *John Conrad Dippel*, surnamed the Christian Democritus (died 1734), and *J. Chr. Edelmann* (born 1698, died 1767.) The latter, after having been for a short time connected with the Illuminati, followed the example of *Knutzen* (comp. Henke § 23. 6.) Concerning the history of

his life and his work : *Moses mit aufgedecktem Angesicht*, Freib. 1740. ii. 8. see *Pratje, J. H.*, *Historische Nachricht von Edelmann*, Hamb. 1785, and *Elster, W.*, *Erinnerungen an J. C. Edelmann*, Clausth. 1839. *Chr. Tob. Damm* (born 1699, died 1778), a philologist, wrote (1765) a work upon the New Testament founded on deistic principles, and reduced the religion of Christ to mere natural religion in his : *Schriften über den historischen Glauben*, 1772. ii. and : *Über die Religion*, 1773. The works of the English deists were also translated into German, and welcomed with eagerness by numbers. See the : *Bekenntnisse von Laukhard* quoted by *Lechler* p. 451. *Tholuck* ii. p. 31. A catalogue of the most important deistic writings is given by *Baumgarten*, *Geschichte der Religionsparteien*, p. 129.

(³) *G. E. Lessing* published a series of treatises containing essays and notices under the title : “ *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Literatur, aus den Schätzen der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel.*” The third of these treatises appeared 1774, under the title : *Fragment eines Ungenannten, von Duldung der Deisten.* (A fragment concerning the toleration of the deists, composed by an anonymous writer.) The fourth treatise, which was published 1777, contained five “ *fragmente,*” viz. : 1. *Von der Verschreitung der Vernunft auf den Kanzeln.* (Concerning the denunciation of reason from the pulpit.) 2. *Unmöglichkeit einer Offenbarung, die alle Menschen auf eine gegründete Art glauben könnten.* (The impossibility of a revelation on which all men can found a reasonable belief.) 3. *Durchgang der Israëlitzen durchs rothe Meer.* (The passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea.) 4. *Dass die Bücher des Alten Testaments nicht geschrieben worden, eine Religion zu offenbaren.* (A proof that the Old Test. Scriptures were not written in order to reveal a particular religion.) 5. *Ueber die Auferstehungsgeschichte.* (Concerning the history of Christ’s resurrection.) Last of all he published (1778) the most violent : *Von dem Zwecke Jesu und seiner Jünger, noch ein Fragment des Wolfenbüttler Ungenannten.* (Concerning the object of Christ and his disciples, another fragment published by the anonymous writer of *Wolfenbüttel.*) After *Lessings* death *C. A. E. Schmidt* (who was said to be a layman) published the other works of that anonymous writer (they referred or the most part to the Old Test.) It is now decided that

Lessing was not the author of these works. They are generally ascribed to *H. S. Reimarus* (born 1694 in Hamburg, died 1768; he wrote a system of natural religion.) For further particulars as to the authorship see Illgen's *historische Zeitschrift*, 1839. part 4. p. 97 ss.

(4) Controversy between Lessing and Götze, pastor primarius in Hamburg; *Nathan der Weise* (1779).—He further published: *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*, 1780.—In the year 1784, appeared his: *Theologischer Nachlass* (Posthumous writings.) As regards the relation in which Lessing stood to Christianity, see *Twisten*, *Dogmatik* i. p. 19. *Röhr*, *kleine theologische Schriften* 1841. p. 158 ss.

(5) On the stay which *Voltaire* made at the Prussian court, and the literary labours of Frederic II. see *A. F. Büsching*, *Character Friedrich II.* Halle 1788. *Preuss*, *Friedrich der Grosse*. 5 voll. Berlin 1833. 34.

(6) "The '*Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*,' edited by *Nicolai*, which, during the first period of its existence (it was founded 1765), enjoyed unlimited authority in the literary world, combated the received faith of the church in an insidious, hypocritical manner, and denounced everything which was above its own prosaic views of religion and morals, as superstition or Jesuitism." Hase, *Kirchengeschichte* p. 507. Deistic tendencies were furthered and spread in families, as well as in schools, by the Philanthropinism of *Basedow* (born 1723, died 1790), *Salzmann* (born 1744, died 1811); and *Campe* (born 1746, died 1818.) On *Basedow's* work: *Philalethie*, Altona 1764. see *Heinrich* p. 467 ss. Among the people the interest for systematic theology had considerably diminished. A calculating system of expediency deprived life of all its poetry, and reduced religion to a mere code of morals, useful for our daily wants. Among the pious part of the people, *C. F. Gellert* (1715–69) continued to enjoy great authority; his views of Christianity were distinguished by depth of sentiment. Nor had *Klopstock's* *Messiah* (1748), which had once been received with eagerness, fallen into oblivion. On the contrary, the works of *Wieland* contributed to the spread of deistic tendencies, as well as of immoral principles, among the German nation. *Baumgarten-Crusius*, *Compendium* i. p. 445. note k, showed with great

acumen the connection existing between sentimentality (which was intended to serve as a substitute for true religious feelings) and deistic tendencies. (On Lessing, see above, note 4.; on Herder, compare § 280.)—Some attempts were also made to form societies on the basis of deistic principles. Such were the “Illuminaten” founded by *Weishaupt*, in the year 1777; the “Freunde der Aufklärung” (friends of enlightenment) in Berlin 1783, see *Tholuck's* literarischer Anzeiger, 1830, No. 8.; and *Bahrds* Gesellschaft der XXII. (Bahrds Society of the XXII.) comp. *Tholuck's* vermischte Schriften ii. p. 115.

(7) The most conspicuous among them was *C. F. Bahrdt* (born 1741, died 1792); comp. his autobiography, Berlin 1790 ss. In his work: Versuch eines biblischen Systems der Dogmatik, Gotha und Leipzig 1769. 70. Frankf. und Leipz. 1771, 2 voll. (see Heinrich p. 469 ss.) he appeared to side with the advocates of orthodoxy; but in his writings, composed in a later period of his life, such as his: Glaubensbekenntniss (1779.—Confession of faith), his: Briefe über die Bibel im Volkston (1782.—Popular letters on the Bible), his: Plan und Zweck Jesu (1784.—The plan and object of Christ), and some others, he endeavoured to undermine all positive religion. Several other theological writers of the present age contributed to the spread of Deism, or, at least, of indifference in religious matters, and of superficial civilization, e. g. *J. A. Eberhard* (formerly a pastor in Charlottenburg, afterwards a professor of theology in Halle, died 1809), who wrote the Neue Apologie des Socrates, ii. vol. Berlin 1776. 78. *G. S. Steinbart* (professor of theology in Francfort on the Oder, died 1809): Eudämonistisches System der reinen Philosophie, oder Glückseligkeitslehre des Christenthums, für die Bedürfnisse seiner aufgeklärten Landsleute und Anderer, die nach Weisheit fragen, eingerichtet, Züll. 1778. 80. 86. Comp. Heinrich p. 488 ss. *W. A. Teller* (prebendary in Berlin, died 1804.)

§ 275.

EFFORTS OF APOLOGETICAL WRITERS. CHANGES IN
THE MODE OF TREATING THEOLOGY. MODERN COM-
PENDIUMS OF SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

The attacks of the deists gave rise to numerous refutations and antideistica.⁽¹⁾ But it soon became evident that the advocates of positive Christianity were not agreed as to the best plan of operation; in the general absence of clear views on the subject in question, they found it increasingly difficult to distinguish between friends and enemies.⁽²⁾ Many of the best and ablest men willingly abandoned what they considered the mere outworks, in order to save the citadel itself; nor was it without some reason that they expected to advance the cause of the "religion of Jesus," thus fallen into disrepute among the educated, by presenting its truths in a clearer and more tasteful form, and by adapting them to the wants of the age.⁽³⁾ It was generally admitted that the old state of things could not continue; from the commencement of the eighteenth century, theologians had exerted themselves to give a new impulse to their science. The critical examination of the Bible was promoted by more correct information concerning the East, and more profound classical studies, the history of the Scripture text was cleared up by the critical investigations of *Mill*, *Wettstein*, *Bengel*, and others,⁽⁴⁾ and the history of the Canon made the subject of new researches. In this respect the labours of *Michaelis*,⁽⁵⁾ *Ernesti*,⁽⁶⁾ and *Semler*,⁽⁷⁾ may be said to introduce a new period. It was chiefly in consequence of the labours of *Mosheim* that church-history ceased to be merely the servant of

party purposes; this writer gave himself the first example of a firm adherence to orthodoxy, united with impartiality in judging of heretical doctrines.⁽⁸⁾ Accordingly the works on systematic theology composed by *J. D. Michaelis*,⁽⁹⁾ *J. D. Heilmann*,⁽¹⁰⁾ *G. T. Zachariae*,⁽¹¹⁾ *G. F. Seiler*,⁽¹²⁾ *J. Ch. Doederlein*,⁽¹³⁾ *S. F. N. Morus*,⁽¹⁴⁾ and others, bore the impression of such progress, while their authors nevertheless endeavoured to preserve, as far as possible, the purity of evangelical doctrine. As regards this last point, the principles of *W. A. Teller*,⁽¹⁵⁾ *E. J. Danov*,⁽¹⁶⁾ *J. F. Gruner*,⁽¹⁷⁾ *J. C. R. Eckermann*,⁽¹⁸⁾ and *C. Ph. Henke*,⁽¹⁹⁾ were less rigid; in their writings they manifested a growing desire to adopt neological tendencies. Among the theologians of the Reformed Church, *Stosch*⁽²⁰⁾ continued a faithful advocate of the former system of orthodoxy, while *Mursinna*⁽²¹⁾ gave the preference to the recent enlightenment, but used caution in appropriating its results.

⁽¹⁾ Among the followers of Wolf *Stiebritz*, professor of philosophy in Halle, in opposition to the deists, and in defence of the principles of his master, wrote his: "Beweis für die Wirklichkeit einer Offenbarung wider die Naturalisten, nebst einer Widerlegung derer, welche dem Wolfischen System eine Beförderung der Naturalisterei beimessen." Halle 1746. Thorschmid, Freidenkerbibliothek ii. p. 655 ss. Lechler p. 449. After the example of *Pfaff*, chancellor in the university of Halle (he published: akademische Reden über den Entwurf der theologiæ antideisticæ 1759) special lectures were delivered in order to refute the deists; see Lechler, *ibid.* Tholuck, *Vermischte Schriften* ii. p. 25. On the apologetical writings of this period, see Tholuck, i. p. 150 ss. Among the English apologists we may mention: *Lardner*, (the credibility of the gospel history, London 1730-55. xii.) *Addison*, *Newton*, *Berkley*, etc. Among the Germans: *Haller* (*Briefe über die wichtigsten Wahrheiten der Offenbarung*, Bern, 1772); *Lilienthal* (*gute Sache der Offenbarung*

Königsb. 1750-82); *Less*, *Nösselt*, etc. The "Wolfenbüttler Fragmente" also gave rise to numerous controversial writings (comp. the Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek voll. 30 and 40.), the best of which were those composed by *Döderlein*, *Less*, *Michaelis*, *Barthels*, and *Semler*.

(2) See *Skelton* (offenbare Deisterei, 1756. ii. pref.) quoted by *Tholuck* i. p. 21: "Our modern apologists too frequently defend Christianity on deistic principles, and too readily represent their own articles of faith in a new dress; they expect that such a course of proceeding will be advantageous to their cause." In proof of this the example of *John Taylor* might be adduced. Comp. *Ernesti*, neue theologische Bibliothek, i. p. 115. *Tholuck*, p. 30.

(3) Thus, *Jerusalem*, *Spalding*, *Zollikofer*, and others, whose honest intentions none can reasonably doubt. See *Jerusalem*, Betrachtungen über die vornehmsten Wahrheiten der Religion, 1768. ii. 5th edit. 1773-92. Second series 2 voll. 1793. *Spalding*, *J. J.* (died 1804), Gedanken über den Werth der Gefühle im Christenthum, 1761. (1784.) Ueber die Nutzbarkeit des Predigtamtes, 1775. Vertraute Briefe, die Religion betreffend, 1788. *Zollikofer*, *G. J.* (he wrote works of a homiletic and devotional character.) *A. W. Sack* belonged to the same class of writers. The theory of accommodation adopted by these men is fairly estimated by *Steffens*: Was ich erlebte, i. p. 258 ss.

(4) Compare the introduction to the New Testament. How much sacred criticism was brought into connection with neological tendencies, may be seen in the case of *Wettstein*; see *Hagenbach*, in *Illgens Zeitschrift* 1839. part 1. But the necessity of a critical study of Scripture was no less felt by the advocates of the opposite principles, e. g., *Bengel*, who strenuously applied himself to it in the service of the Lord.

(5) *John David Michaelis* was born 1717, and died 1791. Comp. *Tholuck* i. p. 130. Of his disciples *Eichhorn* is best known as the most eminent of the rationalistic theologians of the present period. Though *Michaelis* seemed for a time to have adopted the principles of unbiassed criticism and exegesis, he soon after began to adapt his views to the mind of the age. He also endeavoured to explain the miracles of Christ in a natural manner.

(⁶) *John August Ernesti* was born 1707, and died 1781. He wrote: *Institutio interpretis N. Test. Lips. 1761. ed. Ammon. 1792, 1809, 8.* “*With the name of this theologian history has connected the transition to more liberal principles in the interpretation of Holy Writ.*” Klausen, *Hermeneutik* p. 291. On the merits of his work (which are not very great) see Klausen l. c. p. 294.

(⁷) *John Solomon Semler* was born 1725, and died 1791, as professor of theology in the university of Halle. Compare his autobiography (which takes in also the history of his times), Halle 1781. 82. ii. voll. It was especially Semler who, “*without forming a school of his own, may be said to have carried the torch which kindled the conflagration, the effects of which have not yet disappeared.*” Tholuck ii. p. 39. Of his numerous (171) writings we mention only those which have reference to our present subject: *Von freier Untersuchung des Kanons, Halle, 1771-75.* *Institutio ad doctrinam christianam liberaliter discendam, Hall. 1774.* *Versuch einer freien theologischen Lehrart, Hall. 1777 ss.* The principal points of Semler’s theology are the distinction which he made between theology and religion (ethics), and his endeavours to represent the Sacred Scriptures as having a merely local and temporary character. An account of his life and writings is given by Tholuck ii. p. 39-83. The history of doctrines owes its origin to Semler’s introduction to Baumgarten’s compendium of systematic theology (vol. i. § 16.)

(⁸) See *Lücke, F., Narratio de Joanne Laurentio Moshemio, Gött. 1837. 4.* Soon after his death ecclesiastical history was, like exegesis, made subservient to the spirit of the times (Spittler and Henke, the mode of representation adopted by Planck.) The history of doctrines was made use of to show the changeableness of the doctrines of Christianity.

(⁹) *Comp. theol. dogm. Gött. 1760. ed. 2. 84.*

(¹⁰) He was born 1727, and died 1764, as professor in Göttingen. He wrote: *Comp. theol. dogm. Gött. 1761. ed. 3. 80.*

(¹¹) He was born 1729, and died 1777, as professor of theology in the university of Kiel: He wrote: *Biblische Theologie, oder Untersuchung des biblischen Grundes der vornehmsten theologischen Lehren, Gött. u. Kiel 1771-75.* The last part was edited by Vollborth, 1786. *Zachariæ* understood by biblical theology:

“not that theology the substance of which is taken from Scripture, for in this sense every theological system must be biblical, but more generally a precise definition of all the doctrines treated of in systematic theology, the correct meaning which, in accordance with Scripture, should be applied to them, and the best arguments in their defence.” Heinrich p. 515 ss. This was, accordingly, the first attempt to treat *biblical theology* as a separate branch of theological science, independently of systematic theology. His example was followed by *Hufnagel, W. F.*, who wrote : *Handbuch der biblischen Theologie*, Erlangen 1785-91, *Ammon, De Wette, Baumgarten-Crusius*, and others.

⁽¹²⁾ He was born 1733, and died 1807, as professor of theology in the university of Erlangen. He wrote : *Theol. dogm. polem. c. comp. dogmat. Erl.* 1774. ed. 3. 89.

⁽¹³⁾ *Döderlein* was born 1714, and died 1789, as a professor in Bützow. He wrote : *Institutio Theologi christiani in capitibus religionis theoreticis nostris temporibus accommodata*, ii. Alt. 1780. 82. 84. 87. In the preface to this work he expressed himself as follows (quoted by Heinrich p. 493.) : Theologians are not required in the present time to invent new doctrines, and go beyond Scripture ; *neither should they rest satisfied with the labours of their predecessors*, but define more precisely what they have said, make use of modern explanations and new modes of representing certain doctrines, and *have a special regard to the wants of the age*. Hence they must examine those doctrines which are now most of all disputed, and define them the more carefully and deliberately. As regards their mode of argumentation, *they must also adapt themselves to the circumstances of the times*, and avoid approving of and retaining all arguments brought forward by earlier writers, which are in themselves doubtful and uncertain ; they must rather avail themselves of the great advances recently made in biblical exegesis, so as to become the more prudent in the selection of their arguments by which to prove particular doctrines ; they must not consider their number, but their internal merit, and only choose such as are clear and conclusive, etc.

⁽¹⁴⁾ *Morus* was born 1736, and died 1792, as professor of theology in the university of Leipsic. He composed : *Epitome theologiæ christianæ*, Lips. 1789. Heinrich p. 498 ss.

⁽¹⁵⁾ *Teller* was born 1734, and died 1804 (compare § 274. note 7.) He wrote : *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens*, 1763. *Religion der Vollkommnern* 1792.

⁽¹⁶⁾ *E. Jacob Danov* was born 1741, and died 1782, as professor of theology in the university of Jena. He wrote : *Theologiæ dogmaticæ Institut. Lib. ii. Jen.* 1772. 76.

⁽¹⁷⁾ *John Frederic Gruner* was born 1723, and died 1778, as professor of theology in the university of Halle. He wrote : *Institutionum theologiæ dogmaticæ lib. iii. Halle* 1777. 8. "*He was a man of much originality, who had acquired a considerable amount of historical knowledge. His principal endeavour was to prove, like Semler, the later origin of the orthodox doctrines, and the many changes through which they have gone, with this difference, that Gruner, in support of his theory, had recourse to the Platonizantes, Semler to the Judaizantes.*" Tholuck l. c. p. 106. Comp. Heinrich p. 482. The main idea pervading the whole book is, that the principal doctrines of Christianity had been corrupted as early as towards the close of the first century, by the influence of the platonico-oriental philosophy of the Alexandrian School.

⁽¹⁸⁾ *J. Caspar Rudolph Eckermann* was born 1754, and died 1836, as professor of theology in the university of Keil. Among his works we mention : *Compendium theologiæ christianæ theoret. bibl. histor.* 1791. *Handbuch für das systematische Studium der christlichen Glaubenslehre*, 1801. 3. iv. voll.

⁽¹⁹⁾ *Conrad Philip Henke* was born 1752, and died 1809, as professor of theology in the university of Helmstädt, and abbot of Michaelstein. He wrote : *Lineamenta institutt. fidei christ. histor. critic.* Helmst. 1793. ed. 2. 95. In the preface to this work he enumerates three kinds of superstition which he must combat : 1. Christolatry ; 2. Bibliolatry ; 3. Onomatolatry ; at the same time he speaks of Morus and Doederlein in terms expressive of high esteem.

⁽²⁰⁾ *Eberhard Henry Daniel Stosch* was born 1716, and died 1781, as professor of theology in the university of Frankfort on Oder. He wrote : *Introductio in Theologiam dogmaticam Franc. ad Viadr.* 1778. *Institutt. theologiæ dogmaticæ* ibid. 1779. 8. Comp. Heinrich p. 551.

⁽²¹⁾ *Samuel Mursinna* was born 1717, and died 1795, as pro-

fessor of theology in the university of Halle. He wrote: *Compendium theologiæ dogmaticæ* Halle 1777. 8. Comp. Heinrich, p. 549: “*He has made diligent use of the labours of modern theologians, as far as they have respect to a more correct definition of doctrines; nor has he overlooked the opinions of earlier divines, but made mention of them, as well as stated the arguments commonly adduced in their support; nevertheless he has not always pronounced his own judgment concerning their merit, but left it to his readers to choose between the old and the new.*”

Compendiums of systematic theology, written in a popular style, were published by *Less* (1779. 89.), and *Griesbach* (1786. 89.), who also endeavoured to combine the old with the new.

§ 276.

REACTION. EDICT OF RELIGION. ORTHODOX PIETISM.

To oppose a barrier to the further spread of this fast-growing scepticism, was a difficult enterprise, as was clearly proved by the complete failure of the two measures resorted to by the King of Prussia, viz. the publication of an Edict of Religion in the year 1788, and the institution of an ecclesiastical court.⁽¹⁾ It was necessary that opposite elements should develop themselves by an internal process. The pietistic tendency of the school of Halle (originally founded by Spener, Francke, and others) had indeed lost much of its earlier vigour, and degenerated into a dead formalism.⁽²⁾ But in opposition to the demonstrative as well as negative tendency of Rationalism, two theologians of Wirtemberg, *J. A. Bengel*,⁽³⁾ and *F. Ch. Oetinger*,⁽⁴⁾ gave a new direction to theology, by introducing into it not only positive but also pietistico-mystical elements; *Ch. A. Crusius*⁽⁵⁾ followed their example. Societies for practical no less than scientific purposes were founded,

in order to keep alive positive religion among the people.⁽⁶⁾ Thus, in the minds of many, the faith of their forefathers was preserved not only as an empty legacy, but assumed here and there, for the most part in the form of Pietism, depth and independence, in contrast with the scholastic tendency of the age.⁽⁷⁾

(1) This edict was issued (July 9th) by Frederic William II., at the instigation of *Wöllner*, one of the king's counsellors; see: *Acten, Urkunden und Nachrichten zur neuesten Kirchengeschichte*, vol. i. p. 461 ss. By another edict theological works were subjected to the censorship of persons appointed by the king. In addition, a committee (consisting of *Hermes*, *Hillmer*, and *Woltersdorf*) were appointed to visit the clergy, and examine their principles. The proceedings of this committee, the trial of pastor *Schulz* in *Gielsdorf* (1791), and the titles of all the works published for and against the edict, are given in *Henke*, *Beurtheilung aller Schriften, welche durch das preussische Religions-Edict veranlasst sind*, Kiel 1793. Respecting the ill success of those measures *Hermes* expressed himself as follows: "*We are looked upon as persons of consequence, nevertheless we have not yet succeeded in removing one single neological pastor from office, owing to the strong opposition with which we meet every where.*" See *Tholuck* ii. p. 126 ss.

(2) See *Semler's* biography i. p. 48 ss.—"*Many pious and otherwise respectable men who belonged to the school of Halle during its second stage, displayed a weak-minded timidity in reference to their rationalistic opponents.*" *Tholuck* ii. p. 8. The conduct of the adherents of Pietism in the *Wolfian* controversy had also brought the whole tendency into disrepute.

(3) *Bengel* was born 1687, became first tutor in a monastery and pastor, and died 1752 as a prelate and doctor of theology in *Stuttgardt*. See *Burk J. Ch. F.*, *Dr J. A. Bengel's Leben und Wirken*, *Stuttgardt*. 1832.—His labours for the promotion of the critical knowledge of the Bible are deserving of special notice. He is well known as an advocate of *Millennarianism*. Concerning his doctrinal opinions which were founded on his exegetical studies, see *Burk* p. 353 ss.

(4) *Oetinger* was born 1702, and died 1782 as abbot of the monastery Murrhard. He wrote : *Theologia ex idea vitæ deducta, in 6 locos redacta, quorum quilibet 1. secundum sensum communem, 2. sec. mysteria scripturæ, 3. sec. formulas theticas nova et experimentalis methodo pertractatur.* Francof. et Lips. 1765. 8. In this work he endeavoured to develop the entire system of doctrinal theology from the idea of Life. In opposition to the mathematical method of Wolf he observes in the preface p. 3: *Ordo geometricus incipit ab una aliqua idea abstracta, ordo generativus, ut in seminibus patet, incipit a toto idque per minima explicat æquabiliter, quod nos non nisi simulacris imperfectis imitari possumus.* He therefore advises theologians to ascertain first of all the *sensus communis*, *cujus præceptor est ipse Deus* (Ps. xciv. 10.), then to examine the doctrine of Scripture, and to rest on it the doctrine of the church. He finds fault with the philosophy of Wolf principally because it has converted the terms : life, kingdom, spirit, etc., to which Scripture attaches a definite meaning, into mere abstract ideas, and thus originated a system of false idealism which resolves every thing into mere symbolical phraseology. But at the same time he introduces much that is cabbalistic, and refers to his work : *Oeffentliches Denkmahl der Lehrtafel der Princessin Antonia, etc.* Tub. 1763, which is of an entirely cabbalistic character. There is in his writings a mixture of the mystico-speculative tendency of J. Böhm with the pietistico-practical of Spener. As regards the relation in which he stood to Swedenborg compare the following §.

(5) *Crusius* was a disciple of Bengel, and opposed to the philosophy of Wolf; he was born 1715, and died 1775 as professor of theology and philosophy in the university of Leipsic. He wrote : *Opuscula philosophico-theologica*, Lips. 1750. *Die wahre Gestalt der Religion*. 1754. *Hypomnemeumata ad Theol. prophetica*, Lips. 1764-71. ii. 8. *Vorstellung von dem eigentlichen schriftmäfsigen Plan des Reichs Gottes*, Lpz. 1768. 8. *Moraltheol.* Lpz. 1772. 73. *Comp. Schröckh* vi. p. 106 ss. vii. p. 647. viii. p. 41. and p. 108. *Buhle* vol. v. p. 589 ss. *Reinhard, Gesändnisse* p. 68 ss.

(6) Such societies were formed in Stockholm (1771), and Hague (1785.) The " *deutsche Christenthumsgesellschaft, ohne Rücksicht auf Confessionsunterschied* (*i. e.* irrespective of denomina-

tional differences) was founded (1779) by *J. A. Urlsperger*, a Lutheran theologian. It had its strongholds in Basle, London, and Berlin ; see *J. A. Urlsperger, Beschaffenheit und Zweck einer zu errichtenden deutschen Gesellschaft thätiger Beförderer reiner Lehre und wahrer Gottseligkeit, Basle 1781.*

(7) See : *Bretschneider, die Grundlage des evangelischen Pietismus* Lpz. 1833. *Binder, der Pietismus und die moderne Bildung, Stuttg. 1839.* *Märklin Darstellung und Kritik des modernen Pietismus, Stuttg. 1839.* Comp. *Dorner, in the Studien und Kritiken 1840. part i.*

§ 277.

ZINZENDORF AND THE UNITED BRETHREN. WESLEY AND THE METHODISTS. SWEDENBORG.

In the course of the eighteenth century a new sect took its rise, which exerted a considerable influence upon the mind of the age, and the developement of Christian life in general. It was founded in Herrnhut by *Count Zinzendorf*,⁽¹⁾ and is known by the name of the *Society of the United Brethren*.⁽²⁾ Though owing its origin to Pietism, it differed from it in several points ; its object was not so much a general reform of the church and her doctrines, as the organization of a particular Christian community. Count Zinzendorf for himself adopted the *Confessio Augustana* as his creed, but without excluding the members of other Christian denominations.⁽³⁾ Nevertheless, by attaching great importance to particular doctrines, and the mode of their treatment, he imparted a novel and somewhat sentimental aspect to the old Lutheran theology. His own theology, as well as that of his followers, is characterized by a spirit of ardent love to the person of the Saviour, and a strong desire to appropriate his merits by faith,

but it is at the same time deeply tinged with a sensuous tendency.⁽⁴⁾ The theologians of his school, conscious of their higher vocation, endured with calmness the scorn of the world, and the censures passed upon them by learned and pious divines.⁽⁵⁾ *John Wesley*, the founder of *Methodism*, whose powerful appeals aroused the slumbering multitudes, was animated by a desire for the salvation of souls rather than for the advancement of the science of theology, and exerted in his time a far greater influence upon England than upon Germany.⁽⁶⁾ His principles met with less success in the latter country than the theosophic doctrines of *Immanuel Swedenborg*, the founder of the *Church of the New Jerusalem*.⁽⁷⁾ These consisted chiefly in a singular mixture of rationalistic and millennarian ideas, and spread over a great part of Germany.

(1) *Zinzendorf* was born 1700, and died 1760. See the accounts of his life given by Spangenberg. Schrautenbach, Varnhagen von Ense (biographische Denkmale vol. v.), and Tholuck, vermischte Schriften i. p. 433. *G. Müller*, Selbstbekenntnisse merkwürdiger Männer, vol. iii. Herder's *Adrastea* (Werke zur Philosophie x. p. 61.)

(2) The first congregation was founded A. D. 1722. Concerning the history of the society of the United Brethren see : Cranz, alte und neue Brüderhistorie, Barby 1772, continued by Hegner, 1794—1804. *Schaaf*, die evangelischen Brüdergemeinden Leipz. 1825.

(3) This (relative) indifference as regards denominational differences gave offence to many. *Zinzendorf* adopted himself the *Confessio Augustana*; his church was also recognized (1748) by the ecclesiastical authorities of Saxony as one whose creed was closely related to the *Confessio Augustana*. But some Calvinistic congregations (e. g. that of Basle) did not hesitate to join the Society of the United Brethren.

(4) Terms such as *Bluttheologie* (i. e. the theology of Christ's blood) *Wunden-Litanei* (i. e. the litany of Christ's wounds), *Wunden Homilien* (i. e. the homilies on Christ's wounds) etc.

were introduced by Zinzendorf and his followers. In their sacred hymns reference was frequently made to Christ's blood, wounds, his pierced side, etc.; compare, however, the work entitled: *die altlutherische Bluttheologie in einem Auszuge aus des sel. Dr. Ahasveri Fritzschens sogenannten Himmelslust und Weltunlust, mit dem Motto: Pasce me vulneribus, mens dulcescet.* Leipzig und Görlitz, 1750. (From this work it is evident, that similar phraseology had been employed by others previous to the time of Zinzendorf. Ahasv. Fritzsche died A. D. 1701.) More appropriate expressions were used by bishop *A. G. Spangenberg* (born 1704, died 1792); see his *Idea fidei fratrum, oder kurzer Begriff der christlichen Lehre*, Barby 1779–83. With the exception of that part of his work in which he treats of their ecclesiastical constitution, there is nothing in it which had not been propounded by other evangelical theologians.

⁽⁵⁾ Among these we may mention *Carpzov* in Dresden, *Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten* in Halle, *John Philip Fresenius* in Frankfurt on Main (1747–49.) *J. A. Bengel* (1751), *Steinmetz*, abbot in the monastery of Bergen, *J. G. Walch*, and others.

⁽⁶⁾ *John Wesley* was born 1703, and died 1791. Comp. *Southey*, the Life of John W. and the rise and progress of methodism, ed. 2. Lond. 1820. ii. Translated into German, *F. A. Krummacher*, Hamb. 1828. *Moore*, H., the life of J. W., Lond. 1824. ii. vol. *Watson*, the life of John Wesley. Translated into German with a preface by Bonnet. Frankf. 1839. *Burckhardt*, vollständige, Geschichte der Methodisten, in England, Nürnberg. 1795. 2 voll. *Baum*, der Methodismus, Zür. 1838. His fellow labourer was *J. G. Whitefield* (died 1770.) Afterwards they separated on account of their different views concerning grace; Wesley adopted the Arminian, Whitefield retained the strict Calvinistic principles. Nor did they in all points agree with the pietists and the United Brethren.

⁽⁷⁾ *Immanuel von Swedenborg* was born 1688, and died 1777; from the year 1743 he considered himself divinely inspired. Comp. *Herder*, *Adrastea* (vol. ix. p. 502.) His principle works are: *Arcana cœlestia*, Lond. 1749 ss. 8. T. iv. edd. Tafel. Tub. 1833. *Vera chr. rel. complect. univ. Theol. novæ eccles.* Amst. 1771. ii. 4. In Germany (and especially in Wirtemberg) the cause of Swedenborg was espoused first by *Oetinger* (1765), and after-

wards by *Tafel* (1838.) In modern times the doctrine of Swedenborg has been revived, and has gained adherents in France [the United States, England, etc.] For the literature compare Rheinwald, *Repertorium*. 1834. vol. ix. p. 216 ss. Respecting the doctrine itself see: *Hauber*, in the *Tubinger Zeitschrift* 1840. part 4.

The *one* aspect of Swedenborgianism (the faculty of perceiving spirits) was adopted by Jung Stilling (1740–1817), who, together with *J. Caspar Lavater* (1741–1801) exerted himself for the preservation and promotion of the higher interests of religion among many of his contemporaries, even the educated classes of society. But this mystico-theosophic tendency is not to be confounded with the mysticism of Tauler and others. *Comp. Baumgarten-Crusius Compendium* i. § 185.

§ 278.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF KANT. RATIONALISM AND SUPRANATURALISM.

After philosophers and theologians had, for a long time, endeavoured to convert true religion into mere ethics, or at least to resolve all that is essentially Christian into general and abstract ideas of God, liberty, and immortality, a new state of things was brought about by the rise of *Kantianism*, or the critical philosophy. This system gave a more definite aspect to the previous desultory efforts, but, at the same time, circumscribed them within the narrower limits of a strictly scientific form. *Immanuel Kant*,⁽¹⁾ after the example of Hume, subjected the human understanding to a more searching examination, and found that this faculty, which is bound to time and space, and unable to fathom the depths of the Deity, can only apprehend the finite, and is therefore competent to supply an adequate rule for our moral conduct. Thus Kant, on the one hand, denied to pure reason the power of making any certain statements concerning supernatural truths,⁽²⁾ on

the other he secured the existence of God, liberty, and immortality, by representing them as postulates of practical reason.⁽³⁾ That learned man spoke of the Bible and Christianity in terms indicative of the highest reverence, admitting that they were designed to be the medium by which the knowledge of those practical ideas should be generally diffused among the people. Though the number of theologians was small who embodied in their works⁽⁴⁾ the results of this new philosophy in a strictly scientific form, such as *Tieftrunk*,⁽⁵⁾ *Stäudlin*⁽⁶⁾ (at least for a time), and *Ammon*,⁽⁷⁾ it may, nevertheless, be said, that the so-called *Rationalism*,⁽⁸⁾ which from that time formed a constant opposition to *Supranaturalism*,⁽⁹⁾ had its origin in the critical philosophy of Kant. As the representatives of that formal belief in revelation which is termed *Supranaturalism*, and widely differs from the earlier form of orthodoxy, we may regard *Storr*,⁽¹⁰⁾ and *Reinhard*,⁽¹¹⁾ as the representatives of Rationalism, *Wegscheider*,⁽¹²⁾ *Paulus*,⁽¹³⁾ and *Röhr*.⁽¹⁴⁾ And lastly, there were some, such as *Schott*,⁽¹⁵⁾ *Bretschneider*,⁽¹⁶⁾ and *Tzschirner*,⁽¹⁷⁾ who, by propounding what was called *rational Supranaturalism*, endeavoured to reconcile these two extremes with each other, or, at least, to facilitate such a reconciliation.

(1) *Immanuel Kant* was born 1724, and died 1804 (from the year 1740 he studied theology.) His complete works were edited by Rosenkranz and Schubert, Lpz. 1837 ss. xii. voll.

(2) In his work : *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, Riga 1781. 2nd edit. 1787. All later editions were merely reprinted from the second.

(3) See his works : *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft*, Riga 1788. *Kritik der Urtheilskraft*, 1790. Of special importance for *theology* is his work *die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*, Königsb. 1793. 2d improved edit. 1794.

(4) Comp. *Flügge*, *Versuch einer historisch-kritischen Darstel-*

lung des bisherigen Einflusses der Kantischen Philosophie auf alle Zweige der wissenschaftl. und praktischen Theologie, Hannover 1796, 1800, ii. 8. *Reinhard*, the preface to the third edition of his system der christlichen Moral, 1797. *Flatt*, J. F., Obs. ad comparandam doctr. Kant. cum christiana, 1792. (Opusc. Nro. 7.) *Kessler*, Darstellung und Prüfung des Kantischen Rationalismus in der Religion, besonders in der Exegese, Würzb. 1818.

(5) *John Henry Tieftrunk* lived towards the close of the 18th century, and was privatimdocens (*i. e.* private lecturer) of philosophy in the university of Halle. He wrote: Versuch einer Kritik der Religion, 1790.—Censur des christlich-protestantischen Lehrbegriffs, mit besonderer Hinsicht auf die Lehrbücher von Döderlein und Morus, Berlin 1791–95. 2d edit. 1796. Dilucidationes ad theoret. christ. rel. part. 1793. ii.—Religion der Mündigen, 1800.

(6) *K. F. Stäudlin* was born 1761, and died 1826 as professor of theology in the University of Göttingen. He wrote: Ideen zur Kritik der christlichen Religion, Gött. 1791. Lehrb. der Dogmatik und Dogmengeschichte, *ibid.* 1800. 3d edit. 1809. 4th edit. 1822.

(7) *C. F. Ammon*, born 1766, was formerly professor of theology in the University of Erlangen, and is now first chaplain to the King of Saxony. He wrote: Entwurf einer wissenschaftlich praktischen Theologie nach Grundsätzen der Vernunft und des Christenthums, 1797.—Abhandlungen zur Erläuterung einer wissenschaftlich praktischen Theologie, 1798. Summa Theol. christ. 1803. translated into German 1805, ed. 4. 1830. Ausführlicher Unterricht in der christlichen Glaubenslehre, für Freunde der evangelischen Wahrheit, 1807. 8.

(8) The term: *Rationalism* was employed previous to the rise of the Kantian philosophy, and frequently used in the same sense as Naturalism and Deism. Comp. the sect of the Rationalists in England § 238. note 2. and *Sacro disputatio de aestimatione rationis humanæ theologica*, præside Paulo Antonio, 1708. p. 8.: Hinc tantus undique numerus *Rationalistarum*, Naturalistarum, Libertinorum, Scepticorum, quinimo Atheorum; and p. 32.: His *Rationalistio* totus mundus refertus est (quoted by Tholuck ii. 25. 26.) Nevertheless many still confound these terms, some intentionally, others unintentionally. They were separated by

Kant himself (Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft, p. 216. 17.) It may also be said that we have a historical right to make a distinction between Rationalism, which has been systematically developed in Germany, and for more than half a century has exerted, and still exerts, upon the Church an influence more or less considerable, though not always for good, and between that daring and frivolous Naturalism, which has its advocates not so much in the church as in the world. The Rationalists have, at least, retained an historical and Scriptural Christianity, and by making use of the ecclesiastical institutions, *e. g.*, by preaching, endeavoured to promote the spread of moral and religious principles, especially in opposition to pantheistic tendencies, which threaten to destroy the sense of true morality. Thus we may be permitted, in due acknowledgment of its merits, to speak of a *Christian Rationalism*. Some writers have employed the term : *rationalismus vulgaris*, to distinguish it from its modern forms of developement, which have not been recognized by its adherents. Comp. *Bretschneider*, historische Bemerkungen über den Gebrauch der Ausdrücke Rationalismus und Supranaturalismus (Oppositionsschriften vii. 1. 1829.) *Hahn, A.*, de rationalismi qui dicitur vera indole, Lips. 1827. *Hase, K.*, die Leipzigerdisputation, Lips. 1827.—By the same : Streitschriften i. p. 28. Dogmatik p. 16. 36.—Some very appropriate remarks may also be found in Baumgarten-Crusius Compendium i. p. 476.

(⁹) In *one* aspect the supranaturalistic theologians themselves might adopt the principles of Kant, inasmuch as he had demonstrated the insufficiency of reason to investigate the Divine. This was done by *Storr* in his : Bemerkungen über Kant's philosophische Religionslehre, translated from the Latin by Süsskind, Tub. 1794. see Baumgarten-Crusius i. p. 466. But Kant did not draw the inference that a revelation is necessary *on account of* the insufficiency of reason ; on the contrary, he set it aside by maintaining that it belonged to reason, to produce only a moral persuasion of the certainty of revelation. But he did not attain unto a full conviction of its truth, and considered positive religion merely as the medium by which the practical truths of reason are communicated. Compare the special history of doctrines.

(¹⁰) *Gottl. Chr. Storr* was born 1746, and died 1805 as professor in the University of Tübingen. Among his works we

mention : *Doctrinæ christianæ pars theoretica*. 1793. Lehrbuch der christlichen Dogmatik, ins Deutsche übersetzt mit Erläuterungen von *C. Ch. Flatt*, 1803. On the conservative tendency of the school of Tübingen see Tholuck ii. p. 145–47.

(¹¹) *Francis Volkmar Reinhard*, was born 1753, and died 1812, as first chaplain to the King of Saxony. See his : *Geständnisse*, Sulzb. 1810. *Epitome theol. christ. e S. V. Reinhardi a croasi-bus academ. descript. atque observat. auct.* (ed. Hœpfner) 1805. *Vorlesungen über Dogmatik, mit litterarischen Zusätzen herausgegeben von F. B. Berger*, 1801, and *H. A. Schott*, Sulzb. 1811. The supranaturalism of Reinhard had its origin partly in a conscientious regard for Scripture, partly in strictly logical inferences which he drew from certain philosophical premises. Its fundamental principle was not very different from that of Rationalism ; the sermons of Reinhard, which are distinguished by a prevailing moralizing treatment of Scripture, have served as models for many rationalistic discourses. Pure biblical Supranaturalism is represented in the following works : *Hahn, A.*, *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens*, Leipz. 1828. *Knapp, G. Ch.*, *Vorlesungen über die christliche Glaubenslehre, nach dem Lehrbuch der evangelischen Kirche, herausgegeben von G. Thilo*, Halle 1827. (see vol. i. p. 29.)—*Biblische Glaubenslehre, vornehmlich für den praktischen Gebrauch, herausgegeben von Guericke*, Halle 1840.

(¹²) *J. A. L. Wegscheider*, born 1771, from the year 1810 professor of theology in the University of Halle. He wrote : *Institutiones theologiæ christianæ dogmaticæ*. 1813. Edit. 8th. 1844. He was opposed by *Steiger, W.*, *Kritik des Rationalismus in Wegscheiders Dogmatik*, Berlin, 1830.

(¹³) *H. E. G. Paulus*, born 1761, is still living in Heidelberg (formerly in Jena), as a professor and ecclesiastical counsellor. He endeavoured to promote Rationalism by exegetical works (*e. g.* *Commentar über das Neue Testament.—Leben Jesu*), and by advocating liberal principles in some of his writings, *e. g.*, *Sophonizen*, 1818 ss. *Der Denkgläubige* 1825. 29.

(¹⁴) *J. F. Röhr*, born 1777, is still living as general superintendent in Weimar. He wrote : *Briefe über den Rationalismus, zur Berichtigung der schwankenden und zweideutigen Urtheile, die in den neuesten dogmatischen Consequenzstreitigkeiten über denselben gefällt worden sind*, Sondershausen, 1813.—From the

year 1820 he edited the "Kritische Predigerbibliothek" (Critical journal for ministers.) He further published: Grund-und Glaubenssätze der evangelisch-protestantischen Kirche, Neust. 1832. 34. and sermons.

⁽¹⁵⁾ (H. A.) born 1780, died 1835 as professor of theology in the University of Jena. He wrote: Epitome theol. dogmaticæ, Lips. 1811. 22.

⁽¹⁶⁾ *K. G. Bretschneider*, born 1776, is still living as general-superintendent in Gotha. He wrote: Handbuch der Dogmatik der lutherisch-evangelischen Kirche, Leipz. 1814. 18. ii. Edit. 4th. 1838. Systematische Entwicklung aller in der Dogmatik vorkommenden Begriffe, nach den symb. Büchern der prot. luth. Kirche, *ibid.* 1805. New edit. 1841. (the tendency of this latter work is decidedly historical.)

⁽¹⁷⁾ (H. G.) born 1778, died 1828 as professor of theology and superintendent in Leipsic. He wrote: Vorlesungen über die christl. Glaubenslehre, nach dem Lehrbegriffe der evang. protest. Kirche, edited by *K. Hase*, Leipz. 1829. (In this work the two systems of Rationalism and Supranaturalism are separately developed.)

It is a remarkable circumstance that a parallel may be drawn between the rationalistic system of Kant (as well as the earlier system of Wolf) on the one hand, and the developement of literature on the other. The period of Schiller (his poem: Worte des Glaubens), the poem: Urania by Tiedge (1801), and others. The same tendency manifested itself in works of a popular character (in homiletical writings, in religious books, and in works designed for the young), *e. g.*, in the works entitled: Stunden der Andacht (*i. e.*, liter. hours of devotion), Dinters Schullehrerbibel (*i. e.*, the schoolmaster's Bible, edit. by Dinter), and others.

§ 279.

MODERN SPECULATIVE PHILOSOPHY. FICHTE.

SHELLING.

Michelet, C. M., Geschichte der Philosophie von Kant bis Hegel. Berlin 1837. 2 voll. *Chalybæus, H. M.*, historische Entwicklung der speculativen Philosophie von Kant bis Hegel. Dresd. 1837. 3d. edit. 1843.

During the period in which the philosophy of Kant

enjoyed an authority almost universally acknowledged, both Rationalism and Supranaturalism occupied common ground in this, that the mode of thinking adopted by their adherents was rational, abstract, and circumscribed within certain narrow limits, the so-called categories. It was not until the rise of the modern system of speculative philosophy, which made its first appearance in the *Idealism* of *Fichte*,⁽¹⁾ and afterwards in a more developed form in *Schelling's* philosophy of the *Absolute* [Germ. Philosophie des Absoluten],⁽²⁾ that the attention of men was again directed to that which is profound and important in the doctrines of Christianity, *i. e.*, in the first place, to their speculative import, and thus to lead thinking minds from the periphery of religious life back to its real centre. The Rationalists and Supranaturalists, attaching too much importance to the empirico-practical aspect of religion, had lost sight of its more profound and speculative aspect. The opposite took place in the case of Fichte and Schelling. These founders of that new kind of esoteric Gnosis introduced a phraseology perfectly unintelligible, which appeared to their contemporaries as a sort of hieroglyphic language. To formulas in sound orthodox they attached a sense different from that contained in the doctrines of the church, and sometimes even incompatible with revealed truth itself. Not only was history converted into a mere mythical clothing for speculative ideas, but also *Kant's* Trias of *God, Liberty, and Immortality*, in which the Rationalists had hitherto believed with a certain honest simplicity, must cease to exist in the presence of that *Pantheism* which both destroys the personality of God and of man, and confounds the Divine Being with the world. While some were rejoicing at the return of what they considered a Christian philosophy, others questioned the

advantage of this exchange of Rationalism for the speculative philosophy.⁽³⁾

(1) *J. G. Fichte*, born 1762, died 1814, as professor of philosophy in the University of Berlin. In the developement of his system different periods may be pointed out. In his: *Versuch einer Kritik aller Offenbarung*, 1792, which was published anonymously, and for a time ascribed to Kant, he took the same ground which had long been occupied by the latter. But his: *Wissenschaftslehre*, 1794 ss., is altogether speculative-idealistic; it is difficult to decide whether the principles set forth in it are only apparently or really atheistic; it is on this account that they cannot be applied to theology. In his later writings (composed in a more popular style) Fichte endeavoured to express himself in the manner of a Christian philosopher, and to show the agreement existing between his own principles and those of Christianity. This is the case especially in his: *Anweisung zum seligen Leben oder die Religionslehre*, Berlin 1806. In this work he attaches, in opposition to a mere moralizing Rationalism, the greatest importance to the Gospel of John, and founds his system on the unity of the Father with the Son (whom he regards as God attaining unto a consciousness of himself in man.)—Compare: *John Bapt. Schad* (a Benedictine monk), *gemeinfassliche Darstellung des Fichte'schen Systems und der daraus hervorgehenden Religionstheorie*, Erf. 1800–1802. iii. voll., and *Baumgarten-Crusius* i. p. 455–57.

(2) *F. W. Jos. von Schelling*, born 1775, is still living as professor of philosophy in the University of Berlin. He endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between the Idealism of Fichte and the theory of Realism (subject and object) by the philosophy of identity (the originator of which was Spinoza.) Comp. his: *Vorlesungen über die Methode des akademischen Studiums*, Stuttg. und Tub. 1803. 13. especially Lecture 8th. (Concerning the historical construction of Christianity), and Lecture 9th. (On the study of theology.) He there defines, in opposition to the Rationalism of Kant (p. 180.), the doctrine “*of the incarnate God*,” and (p. 184.) “*the reconciliation of the finite (beings) who had departed from God*,” as the first idea of Christianity which is completed and perfected in the doctrine of the *Trinity*;

this doctrine, however, "is *absurd*, unless it be considered in its *speculative aspect*," (p. 192.) In Lecture 9th he combats the empirical Supranaturalism, the Rationalism of Kant, and lastly the *historical* aspect of Christianity.—He further wrote : Philosophie und Religion, Tüb. 1804. Denkmal der Schrift von den göttlichen Dingen des Herrn F. J. Jacobi (comp. § 280.) Tub. 1812. At a later period of his life Schelling has manifested a stronger leaning towards positive Christianity and theistic views ; see his preface to Victor Cousin, translated from the French by Beckers, Stuttg. 1834. The disciples of Schelling at first cultivated the science of natural philosophy, rather than those of the philosophy of religion and of theology. His philosophy was applied to theology by *Heinrich Blasche* (died 1832) : Das Böse, im Einklange mit der Weltordnung dargestellt, Leipz. 1827. Philosophie der Offenbarung, Gotha 1829. As regards the relation in which *Eschenmayer* stands to the philosophy of Schelling see Reinhold, Geschichte der Philosophie ii. 2. p. 388. It must also be admitted that the philosophical tendencies of *Schleiermacher* were connected with those of Schelling, though he applied them to religion and theology in a very different manner (comp. § 280.)

⁽³⁾ Comp. his controversy with Jacobi.—*Köppen, F.*, Schellings Lehre, oder das Ganze der Lehre vom absoluten Nichts, Hamb. 1803.—*Süsskind, G. F.*, Prüfung der Schellingschen Lehre von Gott, Welterschöpfung, moralischer Freiheit, etc. Tub. 1812.

§ 280.

HERDER AND JACOBI. DE WETTE AND SCHLIERMACHER.

Though the speculative philosophy of Fichte and Schelling seemed to have brought about a certain reconciliation between the two extremes above mentioned, it was still to be seen whether that reconciliation was a real one. The first who ventured to oppose the critical philosophy of Kant was *Herder*, the poet.⁽¹⁾

He pointed out the historical nature of the Christian doctrines, as well as the distinction between religion and religious opinions, and introduced, in connection with modern civilization, a new treatment of Scriptural subjects, founded on more accurate views of eastern customs and manners, and bearing the impression of a mind open to all that is good and noble. On the other hand, the philosophy of the Absolute was combated by *Frederic Jacobi*,⁽²⁾ who was distinguished for his piety no less than for his learning. He endeavoured to show that faith, which he separated from knowledge, must have its seat in the human heart, concealed from the world. Though he did not understand by it either the orthodox faith of the church, nor true Scriptural faith (in the supranaturalistic sense), his more profound and mystical theory was eagerly received, even by those who felt the necessity of a positive religion. The philosophical system of Jacobi, which was designed to have special regard to the religious wants of men, served as the basis of a new school, the adherents of which were also disposed to adopt the principles of modern philosophy in general.⁽³⁾ They endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between the two extremes, by historico-critical, as well as philosophical researches, by psychologico-anthropological rather than by speculative investigations. As its founders, we may regard *De Wette*⁽⁴⁾ and *Schleiermacher*,⁽⁵⁾ though each in a different aspect. The former laboured to show, synthetically, the symbolico-religious importance of the doctrines of Christianity, in their relation to the mind of believers; the latter endeavoured, in an analytico-dialectical manner, to apprehend, in Christianity, that which is peculiar to itself, and to represent the doctrines of the church as the perpetual expression of the feeling common to all believers.

(¹) *Johann Gottfried von Herder*, born 1744, died 1803, as general superintendent in Weimar. Among his numerous works we may mention his : *Werke zur Religion und Theologie*, Stuttg. and Tub. 1827-30. 18 voll. Though Herder did not publish a compendium of systematic theology, he exerted, by his enlightened views of religion and truly pious tendency, a considerable influence upon theology. Among his Theological works the following have a special reference to the subject in question : *Briefe über das Studium der Theologie*, Brief 29 ss. *Christliche Schriften* (vom Elöser der Menschen; von Gottes Sohn, der Welt Heiland; vom Geist des Christenthums; von Religion, Lehrmeinungen und Gebräuchen.)—The theological views of Herder are given in a collective form in: *J. G. von Herders Dogmatik, aus dessen Schriften dargestellt und mit litterarischen und kritischen Anmerkungen versehen von einem Freunde der Herder'schen Gnosis*, (Augusti ?) Jena, 1805. 8.

(²) *Friedrich Jacobi*, born 1743. was from the year 1804, chairman of the academy of science in Munich, died 1819. His entire works were published Leipz. 1812. 6 voll. his correspondence Leipz. 1825-27. 2 voll. Compare his : *Von den göttlichen Dingen und ihrer Offenbarung*, Leipz. 1811. and *Kuhn, J., Jacobi und die Philosophie seiner Zeit*, Mainz, 1824.

(³) Schleiermacher acknowledged that he derived his first impressions from Jacobi (*Baumgarten-Crusius* i. p. 468.) ; Schelling also exerted some influence upon him. On the other hand, De Wette adhered to the principles of *Fries*, who endeavoured to complete the philosophy of Kant after the example of Jacobi.

(⁴) *W. M. Leberecht de Wette*, born 1780, professor of theology in the university of Berlin from the year 1810 to 1819, is now professor of theology in the university of Basle. His theological opinions are developed in his : *Erläuterungen zum Lehrbuch der Dogmatik, über Religion und Theologie*, Berlin 1821.—*Lehrbuch der christlichen Dogmatik in ihrer historischen Entwicklung*, Berl. 1821. 2 voll. Edit. 3rd. 1820.—*Christliche Sittenlehre*, ibid. 1819-24. 3 voll. 8°. The following are written in a popular style : *Ueber die religion, ihr Wessen, ihre Erscheinungsformen und ihren Einfluss auf das Leben* (a course of public lectures), Berl. 1827. 8.—*Theodor oder des Zweiflers Weihe* 1821-28. 2 voll.—*Sermons*.

(⁵) *Friedrich Schleiermacher*, born 1768, died 1834, as professor of Theology in the university of Berlin.—Among his works we mention: *Ueber Religion, Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern*, Berlin 1799.—*Darstellung des theologischen Studiums*, Berlin 1811. 30.—*Der christliche Glaube, nach den Grundsätzen der evangelischen Kirche im Zusammenhange dargestellt*, Berl. 1821. 2 voll. 1830. 2 voll.—*Sermons*. (An edition of his entire works was commenced 1834, and is still in course of publication.) *Comp. Braniss, H.*, über Schleiermachers Glaubenslehre, Leipz. 1835. *Rosenkranz, K.*, Kritik der Schleiermacher'schen Glaubenslehre, Königsb. 1836. *Baumgarten-Crusius*, Schleiermachers Denkart und Verdienst, Jena 1834. *Lücke* (Studien und Kritiken, 1834. part 4.)

§ 281.

ATTEMPTS AT REACTION. PRACTICAL PIETY AND MODERN THEOLOGY.

But this reconciliation, which could be appreciated only by the educated classes of society, did not meet the wants of Christians at large. Though the conflict between Rationalism and Supranaturalism at first appeared to be confined to theologians only, a general desire after more substantial spiritual food soon manifested itself among the people, who for sometime past had grown indifferent to their religious interests, but had been aroused by the signs of the times. Instead of that timid Supranaturalism of the schools which was itself affected by Rationalism, the ancient faith boldly raised its voice against the evils of modern civilization. *Claus Harms*, on the occasion of the centenary of the German Reformation, published a number of theses, in which he proclaimed the necessity of returning to the old Lutheran faith, and proved that the religion of reason was worth-

less.⁽¹⁾ *Sartorius* pointed out the close relation existing between Rationalism and Romanism.⁽²⁾ The controversy was carried on with much violence, both parties endeavouring to denounce each other.⁽³⁾ It was owing to the prevailing practical tendency of the age which manifested itself in the spread of the Scriptures and of religion, and in the founding of religious societies,⁽⁴⁾ that the consequence of these conflicts was less serious than might have been expected. Nor were the interests of scientific theology neglected; on the contrary, it is pleasing to see that these struggles did not affect true science. Commentators as well as the writers on ecclesiastical history obtained a clearer perception of the necessity of guarding against dogmatical prejudices on the one hand, and on the other of entering into more profound researches, and of handling their topics in a more spiritual and attractive manner.⁽⁵⁾ The distinguishing principles of the various denominations, the consideration of which had long been neglected from want of interest, were now more fully and scientifically discussed in the works of Symbolik.⁽⁶⁾ Christian Ethics were brought into connection with systematic theology,⁽⁷⁾ the different branches of theological science were regarded in a new light,⁽⁸⁾ and the way was prepared for a total reformation in practical theology.⁽⁹⁾

⁽¹⁾ *Claus Harms*, born 1778, is still living as professor of theology in the university of Kiel (comp. Rheinwald, Repertorium xxx. p. 54.) The title of the work referred to is: *Das sind die 95 Theses oder Streitsätze Dr. Luthers, zum besondern Abdrucke besorgt, und mit andern 95 Sätzen vermehrt*, Kiel 1817. On the controversy to which it gave rise, see the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* 1829. No. 45-48. 58-60. 80 ss. 88 ss. (Both Ammon and Schleiermacher took part in it.) Afterwards he wrote: *Dass es mit der Vernunftreligion nichts ist*, Leipz. 1819. to which *Krug* replied in his treatise: *Dass es mit der Vernunftreligion doch etwas ist*.

(²) *E. W. Ch. Sartorius*, born 1797, professor of theology in the university of Königsberg. He wrote: *die Religion ausserhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft, nach den Grundsätzen des wahren Protestantismus gegen die eines falschen Rationalismus*, Marb. 1822. Comp. also *Steffens, Heinr.*, *von der falschen Theologie und dem wahren Glauben, eine Stimme aus der Gemeinde*, Breslau 1823.

(³) The Rationalists charged the Supranaturalists (Pietists, mystics) with holding antiprottestant principles; the Supranaturalists demanded, in their turn, that their opponents should secede from the church, and sometimes insisted upon their expulsion.—The disputation of Leipsic, 1827.—The *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, edited by Hengstenberg, took a prominent part in this controversy.—Respecting the denunciations of Halle, and other events, see Hase, *Kirchengeschichte* p. 525-29.

(⁴) These were the Bible Societies and Missionary Societies which, after the example given by England, were established on the continent, *e. g.* in Basle 1816. Berlin 1823.—They are the most eloquent apologists!—The advocates of mere negative principles only criticise, but do not produce anything.

(⁵) After exegesis, subsequently to the time of Ernesti, had again become the servant of theological opinions (thus in the case of Storr and Paulus), *Winer* advocated the claims of the grammatico-historical interpretation, while *Lücke* (in his commentaries on the writings of John) prepared the way for a dynamic system of interpretation. Ecclesiastical history, which formerly had often been regarded as the history of human follies, was treated with laudable impartiality by *Gieseler*, and proved by *Neander* to indicate the developement of the kingdom of God on earth. It is worthy of observation, that the newly awakened historical tendency also manifested itself in a number of monographical works. These and other circumstances contributed to a more scientific treatment of systematic theology.

(⁶) *Marheinecke* and *Winer*, see Vol. i. p. 29, 30,

(⁷) *De Wette* pointed out many defects in the treatment of Christian ethics in his: *Kritische Uebersicht der Ausbildung der theologischen Sittenlehre seit Calixt* (*theologische Zeitschrift*, Berlin 1819. p. 247 ss.)—Christian ethics were treated in connection with systematic theology by *Nitzsch, C. J.*, *System der*

christlichen Lehre, Bonn 1829. Edit. 5th 1844, and Beck, J. T., die christliche Lehrwissenschaft nach den biblischen Urkunden, Stuttg. 1840. i. 1. 1841. i. 2.

(8) From the time of *Schleiermacher*, the theological encyclopædia was made a separate branch of theological science.

(9) *Schleiermacher*, and after him *Nitzsch*, *Marheinecke*, and others, applied scientific treatment to practical theology.

§ 282.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF HEGEL.

Fichte, J. H., über Gegensatz, Wendepunct und Ziel der heutigen Philosophie. Heidelb. 1832.

Philosophy also kept pace with the developement of theology. Since *Hegel*⁽¹⁾ applied the methodico-dialectic treatment to the theory of *Schelling*, the principal element of which was the ideal, it acquired a more positive aspect, and was thus brought into a closer connection with the theology of Protestant Germany. The highest place was assigned to the idea [Germ-Begriff.] even in religion, while sentiment [Germ. Gefühl] and conception [Germ. Vorstellung] were deferred to a lower province. This was the principal difference between the system of *Hegel* and that of *Schleiermacher*. During the life-time of the founder of this new philosophical school, *Daub*⁽²⁾ and *Marheinecke*⁽³⁾ were the only two theologians who adopted his principles. But after his death his views gained a considerable number of adherents among the rising generation, among whom so great a difference obtained respecting some of the most important theological questions, that they formed two distinct parties. The one, called the orthodox party of the school of *Hegel*,⁽⁴⁾ advocates supranaturalistic, or theistico-conservative principles, while the tendency of the other⁽⁵⁾ is of a destructive character. In addition

to these there are some others, philosophers⁽⁶⁾ as well as theologians,⁽⁷⁾ who struck out a new and independent path for themselves, without losing sight of the results of modern researches. But however much these writers may differ as to their peculiar views, they for the most part agree in discarding the former distinction between Rationalism and Supranaturalism, in having regard to the demands of a spirit of inquiry, as well as the wants of believers, and in investigating the doctrines received by the church. Nor do they rest satisfied either with appealing to the authority of others, or with a superficial statement of their own opinions. Thus the final success of their efforts seems to be secured.

⁽¹⁾ *Georg Friedrich Wilhelm Hegel*, born 1770, was, from the year 1818, professor of philosophy in the university of Berlin, and died 1831. His entire works were published Berlin 1832-45, 18 voll. We mention *Phänomenologie des Geistes*, Hamb. 1807. *Encyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften*, Heidelb. 1817, Edit. 4th. 1845. *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion*, edited by Marheinecke, Berlin 1832. ii. He also wrote a somewhat remarkable preface to *Hinrichs Religionsphilosophie*, 1822, (in respect to religious sentiments.)—Concerning the latest controversies see *Leo, H.*, *die Hegelingen*, Halle, 1838. 39. *Kahnis*, *Ruge und Hegel*, Quedl. 1838. *Rheinwald*, *Repertorium*, xxxi. p. 28 ss.

⁽²⁾ *Karl Daub*, born 1765, was professor of theology and ecclesiastical counsellor in Heidelberg, and died 1836. He was profoundly acquainted with the entire developement of modern philosophy from Kant to Hegel. His works were published by Marheinecke and Dittenberger, Berl. 1838 ss. We mention: *Theologumena s. doctrinæ de relig. christ. ex natura Dei perspecta repetendæ capita potiora*, Heidelb. 1806. *Einleitung in das Studium der Dogmatik, aus dem Standpuncte der Religion*, *ibid.* 1810.—*Judas Ischariot, oder das Böse, im Verhältnisse zum Guten betrachtet*, 2 parts, *ibid.* 1816-19.—*Die dogmatische Theologie jetziger Zeit, oder die Selbstsucht in der Wissenschaft des Glaubens*, *ibid.* 1833.—*System der christlichen Dogmatik*

(first part), edited by Marheinecke and Dittenberger, Berlin 1841. Comp. (Strauss) Daub und Schleiermacher in den Charakteristiken u. Kritiken, Lpz. 1839. *Rosenkranz*, Erinnerungen an K. Daub, Berlin 1837.

(³) *Philip Marheinecke*, born 1780, was professor of theology in the university of Berlin, and died 1846. He wrote *Grundlinien der christlichen Dogmatik als Wissenschaft*, Berlin 1819, 1827.

(⁴) Gabler, Göschel, Rosenkranz, Schaller.

(⁵) *Strauss, D. F.*, die christliche Glaubenslehre in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung und im Kampfe mit der modernen Wissenschaft dargestellt, ii. Stuttg. 1840. 41. Comp. K. Ph. Fischer, die speculative Dogmatik von Strauss, erster Band, geprüft, Tüb. 1841.

(⁶) Among those who lived during the period of Kant and Fichte we may mention *Reinhold*, *Herbart*, *Fries*, *Krug*, *Bouterweck*, and others; in modern times, *G. Ritter*, *J. H. Fichte*, *C. H. Weisse*, *K. Ph. Fischer*, and others.

(⁷) The principles of Schleiermacher were adopted, though with a stronger leaning towards orthodox theology, by *Nitzsch* (comp. § 281. note 7.) and *Twisten, A. D. Ch.*, Vorlesungen über die Dogmatik der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche, ii. Hamb. 1826. Edit. 3d. 1834. On the other hand, *Carl Hase* was influenced both by critical and speculative tendencies. See his *Lehrbuch der evangelischen Dogmatik*, Stuttg. 1826. Second improved edition 1838. *Gnosis, oder evangelische Glaubenslehre für die Gebildeten in der Gemeinde*, Leipzig 1827. ii.

That tendency which endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between the two extremes was chiefly represented in the *Theologische Zeitschrift*, edited by Schleiermacher, de Wette, and Lücke, and afterwards in the *Studien und Kritiken*, edited by Ullmann and Umbreit (from the year 1828.)

§ 283.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCH AND DOCTRINE OUT OF GERMANY.

The disputes related in the preceding sections (§ 278—

282,) were almost entirely confined to Protestant Germany, and partially affected Denmark and part of Reformed Switzerland, in which the German language is spoken.⁽¹⁾ Nearly all other Protestant countries either took no notice at all of these conflicts, or formed erroneous and unjust opinions concerning them.⁽²⁾ Lutheran orthodoxy maintained its ground in Sweden.⁽³⁾ In the Netherlands the advocates of a more moderate (Arminian) tendency opposed the rigid system of the orthodoxy established in the canons of the synod of Dort;⁽⁴⁾ in England some theologians propounded different views from those set forth in the 39 articles,⁽⁵⁾ and in some cases were the originators of new sects.⁽⁶⁾ Nor did Protestant theology in France keep pace with the civilization of the age (with the exception of Strassburg, where German learning has always flourished.)⁽⁷⁾ The laity were the first to display a spirit of more profound inquiry into religious truths.⁽⁸⁾ The commotions which took place in the church of Geneva cannot be compared (either as to matter, or to form) with the contests between Rationalism and Supranaturalism in Germany.⁽⁹⁾ But the barriers which have hitherto prevented the foreign churches from appropriating the results of German learning, seem gradually to disappear, and a growing desire manifests itself to become acquainted with the religious conflicts of the birth-place of the Reformation.

(1) In Denmark the controversy between Rationalism and Supranaturalism was carried on by *Clausen* and *Grundtvig* (see the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* 1827, etc. *Studien und Kritiken* 1834, part 4. Hase, *Kirchengeschichte* p. 525. 26.) Among the Reformed Churches of Switzerland it was in the last century, especially that of Zurich, which was affected by the theological tendencies then prevailing in Germany. (Hess and Lavater were the representatives of Supranaturalism, though each in a different way—Hæfeli, Stolz, and Schulthess, those of Rational-

ism.) The theology of Schleiermacher was in the course of this century represented by L. Usteri (the author of the "Paulinischer Lehrbegriff") and Alexander Schweizer (the author of the "Dogmatik der Reformirten Kirche.") In Schafhausen, *Georg Müller* (died 1819; he wrote: *Vom Glauben der Christen*, Winterthur 1815, 2 voll.) endeavoured to propagate the principles adopted by Herder, but was more orthodox than the latter. In Berne, orthodoxy maintained its ground partly by the aid of the aristocratic government. Since the expulsion of the first adherents of Rationalism (Wettstein 1730) from Basle, its advocates have always been excluded from that town. [?] For a long time it was (unjustly) considered the centre of pietism. By the renovation and foundation of the Swiss universities (Basle 1817-35, Zurich 1833, Berne 1834), and the vocation of German professors (thus De Wette received a call from the university of Basle 1821), the theology of Switzerland was brought into a closer connection with that of Germany.

(2) *Rose, J. H.*, *der Zustand der protestantischen Religion in Deutschland*, 4 Reden an der Univ. Cambridge, 1825, translated from the English, Leipz. 1826.

(3) See *Guerike*, *Kirchengeschichte* ii. p. 1084. 1087.

(4) Concerning the latest events see *die Unruhen in der niederländisch-reformirten Kirche während der Jahre 1833-39*, von x. herausg. von *Gieseler*, Hamb. 1840. Among the Dutch theologians *Heringa*, *Clarisse*, *Royaards*, and others, have observed the developement of German theology.

(5) Thus the principles of Arianism propounded by *Samuel Clarke* (died 1729) at the commencement of the present period, were adopted by some. The Latitudinarianism of England may be compared to the Arminianism of Holland.

(6) The rise of new sects both in England and the United States of America is of no importance for the history of doctrines. The greatest attention was excited by *Irving* (1792-1834), whose views gained some adherents even on the continent. See *Hohl*, *Bruchstücke aus dem Leben und den Schriften* Ed. Irvings, St. Gallen 1839.

(7) *Blessig*, *Hafner*, *Emmerich*, *Bruch*.

(8) *Benj. Constant*, *Cousin*, *Guizot*. Among the theologians we mention: *Vincent* of Nismes (*Méditations et discours*, 1830

ss.), of *periodicals* : *Ami de la Religion* ; *Semeur*, etc. Comp. *Reuchlin, H.*, *das Christenthum in Frankreich*, Hamb. 1837.

(⁹) The formal aspect of the controversy respecting revelation was not at all mentioned. The opponents of the so-called Momiers (*Chénevière*, and others) may also be said to hold supernaturalistic principles, inasmuch as, proceeding upon the doctrine of inspiration and the integrity of the Canon, they rest *their* views upon Scripture. Comp. the works of *Chénevière*, Bost, Mallan. *Histoire véritable des Momiers*, Par. 1824. Basle 1825. With this work compare : *De Wette*, *einige Bemerkungen über die Kirchlichen Bewegungen in Genf.* (*Basler wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift* iii. part 2. p. 33 ss.) and the advice given by him p. 61. to appropriate the results of German learning. This was done by the Evangelical school of Geneva (1832, Steiger, Hävernick.) German learning has also been introduced into the academy of *Lausanne* (1836), and met with a favourable reception on the part of *A. Vinet*, the talented advocate of liberty of conscience, and of purer orthodox faith.

§ 284.

DENOMINATIONAL DIFFERENCES.

During the present period less importance was attached to the denominational differences upon which so much stress had been laid in the preceding. The cause of this was not only rationalistic indifferentism, but also the efforts of the Pietists, and other sects of a similar character, for the promotion of practical piety.⁽¹⁾ In several parts of Germany a union was brought about between the Lutherans and the Calvinists.⁽²⁾ But while it proved a blessing to the Church on the one hand, on the other it led to a revival of the former denominational differences, which were not only made the subject of scientific discussion,⁽³⁾ but also gave rise to separations and commotions in the Church.⁽⁴⁾ Thus Scrip-

tural Supranaturalism, as well as old Lutheran orthodoxy,⁽⁵⁾ and the rigid Calvinism⁽⁶⁾ of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were strongly defended in the nineteenth.

(1) Comp. Urlsperger (§ 276. note 6.) Zinzendorf (§ 277.)

(2) 1817-30 : Prussia, Nassau, Baden, the electorate of Hesse, Hesse-Darmstadt, Württemberg. Compare the works on ecclesiastical history.

(3) Among the writers on systematic theology, *Augusti*, previous to the establishment of the Union, showed the necessity of enabling the students of theology to obtain a more thorough knowledge of the divinity of the Lutheran Church, in his work : *System der christlichen Dogmatik, nach dem Lehrbegriff der lutherischen Kirche*, im Grundrisse dargestellt, Leipz. 1809.— Respecting particular doctrines, see the special history of doctrines.

(4) *Scheibel* in Breslaw and *Steffens* (he wrote : *Wie ich wieder ein Lutheraner wurde und was mir das Lutherthum ist*, Breslau 1831), *Guerike* (1835), *Kellner*, *Wehrhahn*, and others. Concerning the commotions to which these conflicts gave rise, see the works on ecclesiastical history, *e. g.* Hase, p. 532 ss. and *Olshausen*, *H.* *Was ist von den neuesten kirchlichen Ereignissen in Schlesien zu halten ?* Leipz. 1835.

(5) *Rudelbach* und *Guerike*, *Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, from the year 1840.

(6) Among the Momiers in the Church of Geneva (comp. § 283. note 9.) in the Netherlands, and in the district of Elberfeld.

§ 285.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

The developement of the Roman Catholic Church in *Germany* was different from that in *France*. In the former country Romanism was affected by the influence

of the philosophical systems, and the prevailing tendency of the age. While some Roman Catholics, especially during the reign of Joseph II., Emperor of Austria, directed their efforts chiefly to the reform of the government of the Church,⁽¹⁾ there were others who sought partly to amend,⁽²⁾ and partly to idealize, the Roman Catholic doctrine.⁽³⁾ These endeavours, aided by modern speculation, led to more profound and philosophical views of the doctrines as distinct from those of the Protestant Church. This was the case especially with *Hermes*⁽⁴⁾ and *Möhler*.⁽⁵⁾ In France the Jansenistic controversy was continued at the commencement of the present period in the controversy concerning the Constitution.⁽⁶⁾ From the time of the French Revolution, theological conflicts appear so intimately connected with political contests, as to preclude the expectation that even those highly talented men who took a prominent part in these conflicts,⁽⁷⁾ would do much for the scientific developement of theology. The theological system of *Bautain* is of special importance in its relation to the theology of *Hermes*. The former proved, on speculative ground, that speculation is not admissible in systematic theology, and rested his system entirely upon faith,⁽⁸⁾ while *Hermes* endeavoured to rest faith upon philosophy. Both systems were condemned by the Papal See as being founded upon extreme views.

⁽¹⁾ Joseph II. (reigned from the year 1780) stood in the same relation to the Roman Catholic Church, in which Frederick II. stood to the Protestant Church, but manifested greater interest for religion. Concerning Justinus Febronius (Nicholas of Hontheim) and the Punctation of Ems (1786), concerning Scipio Ricci, Bishop of Pistoja and Prato under the reign of Leopold of Toscana, see the works on ecclesiastical history.

⁽²⁾ *Isenbiehl* (1774) was violently attacked on account of his

interpretation of the Messianic prophecies. In later times the critico-exegetical labours of *Jahn*, *Hug*, and *Scholz*, were distinguished by a more liberal spirit of inquiry. *Dereser* and *van Ess* translated the Sacred Scriptures into German; *Blau* (died 1798) undermined the doctrine of the infallibility of the church (Frankf. 1791.) *Joseph Muth* examined the relation in which Christianity stands to the religion of reason (Hadamar 1818.) *Michl* (Anton) manifested more enlightened views in the treatment of ecclesiastical history.

(3) *Wessenberg* and his school were characterized by an idealizing tendency, and a spirit of toleration towards those who belong to other denominations. Comp. (*Keller*) *Katholikon, für Alle unter jeder Form das Eine*, Aarau. 1827. On the other hand, *Sailer* (1751-1832) endeavoured to represent Romanism in an attractive form, by the use of mystic phraseology; and lastly, some others, such as *Martin Boos*, *Al. Henhöfer*, and *Johann Gossner*, sought to introduce evangelical principles (and Pietism) into the systematic theology of the Roman Catholic Church; the two latter afterwards became converts to the Protestant faith, but not the first; see his autobiography edited by Gossner, Leipz. 1826. In opposition to these reforming tendencies, *Görres* (born 1776) has endeavoured to maintain the principles of the Romanism of the middle ages.

(4) *Georg Hermes*, born 1775, was professor of theology in Münster and Bonn, and died 1831. By asserting that the Romish doctrine might be proved philosophically, he undermined the authority of the church. See his: *Einleitung in die christkatholische Theologie*, Münster 1819. 31. Vol. ii. 1829. *Christkatholische Dogmatik*, herausgegeben von *Achterfeldt*, Münster 1834. 3 voll. His theory was condemned by Pope Gregory XVI. (1835.) Comp. *P. J. Elvenich*, *Acta Hermesiana*, Gött. 1836. *Zell*, *Acta antihermesiana*, Sittard, 1836. *Braun et Elvenich*, *Meletemata theologica*, Lips. 1838. *Acta Romana*, Han. 1838. *Rheinwald*, *Repertorium xxxii-xxxiv*.

(5) *Möhler* was born 1796, and died 1838. Having received his first impressions from the study of Protestant theology (*Schleiermacher*), he afterwards employed his knowledge to oppose it. By his: *Symbolik* (Mainz. 1832) he revived the controversy between the Roman Catholics and Protestants, and induced the

latter to re-examine their own principles. The most eminent theologians and philosophers of the Roman Catholic Church are : *Francis Baader* (he died 1841), *F. A. Staudenmaier* (among his numerous works we mention : *Encyclopädie*, 1834. *Philosophie des Christenthums*, 1839. *Metaphysik der heiligen Schrift*, 1840.), and *J. B. Hirscher* (he wrote : *Ueber das Verhältniss des Evangeliums zu der theologischen Scholastik der neuesten Zeit im Katholischen Deutschland*, Tub. 1823. *Die Katholische Lehre vom Ablass*, *ibid* 1829, and others.)

(6) The relation in which Zinzendorf stood to Jansenism is worthy of notice : “ *Jansenism was the salt without which the Roman Catholic Church of that period would have perished.*” Tholuck, *Vermischte Schriften* ii. p. 33. Concerning the various modifications of Jansenism, see Hase, *Kirchengeschichte* p. 488.

(7) The anti - ecclesiastical theories of Theophilanthropism (1796-1802), and of St Simonism (at a later period), had only a temporary existence. Romanism was brought into connection with politics by *Chateaubriand* (born 1769) and *Lamennais*.—The rationalistic church of Abbé Chatel (1830, August.)

(8) *Philosophie du Christianisme* Strassb. 1835. *Rheinwald*, *Acta histor. eccles.* 1835. p. 305 ss. 1837. p. 68 ss. *F. Jünge*, in *Illgens Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*, 1837. vii. part 2. His system was condemned by the Pope, 1834, Dec. 20th. Comp. † *Kuhn*, über *Glauben und Wissen*, in der *theologischen Quartalschrift*, 1839. part 3.

§ 286.

THE RUSSIAN-GREEK CHURCH.

In the Russian-Greek Church *Theophanes Procopowicz*⁽¹⁾ and *Platon*⁽²⁾ set forth the orthodox doctrines which were afterwards defended by the Imperial Counsellor, *Alexander of Stourdza*,⁽³⁾ against the attacks of the Jesuits. But none of these exerted any influence upon the developement of the doctrines of Christianity in general.

(1) Born at Kiew A. D. 1681, died 1736, as archbishop of Nowgorod. After his death was published his : *Christiana orthodox. Theolog.* Tom. i.–vii. 1773-76 ss. See Schröckh, *Kirchengeschichte* (continued by Tzschirner) ix. p. 207 ss.

(2) Born 1737, was archbishop of Moscow, and died 1812. He wrote : *Rechtgläubige Lehre, oder Kurzer Auszug der christlichen Theologie, zum Gebrauch Seiner Königlichen Hoheit des Grossfürsten Paul Petrowitsch, Riga 1770* (translated into German.) Comp. Schröckh l. c. p. 212 ss. *Schlegel, Kirchengeschichte des 18ten Jahrhunderts*, vol. ii. p. 59 ss.

(3) *Considérations sur la doctrine de l'esprit de l'église orthodoxe*, Stuttg. 1816. Translated into German 1817 (by Kotzebue.)

Concerning the sects of the Greek Church, the Nestorians, Monophynites, and Monothelites (Maronites), as well as those who dissented from the Russian Church (from the year 1666), viz., the Staroverzi (Rascolniki), and the Duchoborzi (the Russian Quakers), comp. the works on ecclesiastical history.

B. SPECIAL HISTORY OF DOCTRINES DURING THE
FIFTH PERIOD.

FIRST SECTION.

PROLEGOMENA. RELIGION. REVELATION. BIBLE
AND TRADITION.

(MIRACLE AND PROPHECY.)

§ 287.

RELIGION.

After Christianity had ceased to be regarded as the only religion, and a distinction had been made between natural and revealed religion, it became necessary to define the latter more precisely. For a considerable time both Rationalists and Supranaturalists adopted the definition: *religio est modus Deum cognoscendi et colendi*,⁽¹⁾ with this difference, that, in the opinion of the former, religion chiefly consists in the observance of the Divine laws.⁽²⁾ *Semler* made a distinction between religion and theology,⁽³⁾ and *Herder* separated religion from theological opinions and religious usages.⁽⁴⁾ According to *Schleiermacher*, religion consists neither in knowledge, nor in action, but is a certain tendency of our mind which manifests itself as the consciousness of absolute dependence on God.⁽⁵⁾ Most modern ortho-

dox theologians rest their systems on the same principle,⁽⁶⁾ while the adherents of speculative philosophy consider knowledge as the foundation upon which we have to build.⁽⁷⁾

⁽¹⁾ On this point comp. Twesten, *Dogmatik* i. p. 2. and Nitzsch, *System* § 6. The phrase is somewhat enlarged by *Ammon*, *Summ. theol. chr.* § 1: *conscientiæ vinculum, quo cogitando, volendo et agendo numini nos obstrictos sentimus.*

⁽²⁾ According to *Kant*, religion consists in this, that in reference to all our duties we consider God the legislator who is to be revered by all. See his *Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*, p. 139.

⁽³⁾ He too confounded religion with ethics (the reformation of the conduct.) See *Tholuck* ii. p. 111.

⁽⁴⁾ In his treatise: *Von Religion, Lehrmeinungen und Gebräucher*, 1798. (*Works* xviii. p. 169-330.)

⁽⁵⁾ *Christliche Glaubenslehre* § 3 ss. comp. *Reden über die Religion* p. 56-77.

⁽⁶⁾ This definition was adopted by Twesten and Nitzsch l. c, and, with some modifications, by Hase § 2-6. and de Wette, *Vorlesungen über die Religion*, Vorles. 4. *Wegscheider* (*Instit.* § 2.) defines religion as *æquabilis et constans animi affectio*, etc. That this theory does not exclude knowledge, may be seen from the works of the respective writers. Comp. also *Elwert*, *über das Wesen der Religion*, *Tübinger Zeitschrift*, 1835. part 3.

⁽⁷⁾ See Hegel's *Vorrede zu Hinrichs Religions philosophie*. According to *Hegel* and *Vatke* religion is the *process of the mind*. (*Nitzsch*, *System* p. 9.)

§ 288.

TRUTH AND DIVINE ORIGIN OF CHRISTIANITY. PERFECTIBILITY. REASON AND REVELATION.

Notwithstanding the many differences of opinion, all Christians agreed in believing, that of all historical

forms of religion, Christianity was most worthy of God, and best adapted to the religious wants of mankind. The Rationalists, in order to avoid the force of this argument, maintained either that the historical religion which merely serves as a vehicle for the natural, will at some time be resolved into it,⁽¹⁾ or that it will gradually lose its present local and temporary character, and be perfected after the ideal formed by reason.⁽²⁾ On the other hand, the Supranaturalists regarded the religion revealed in Holy Writ as complete in itself, and excluding every idea of perfection. As regards the nature of revelation, and its relation to reason, the Supranaturalists belonging to the earlier part of the present period were far from denying the importance of the latter.⁽³⁾ Asserting that revelation was, more properly speaking, the complement of reason, they assigned to the latter the office of proving the possibility and necessity of the former.⁽⁴⁾ But after *Kant* had combated the idea that reason was competent to decide what was *revealed* or not, the Rationalists substituted the idea of positive (historical) religion for that of revealed religion, and maintained that the moral value of the former was to be determined by practical reason.⁽⁵⁾ In opposition to both these systems, others assigned a more comprehensive meaning to the idea of *revelation*.⁽⁶⁾ In the opinion of some speculative philosophers, it is not so much the communication of a few abstract ideas, as the intellectual perception of the universe, which constitutes the nature of revelation.⁽⁷⁾ According to others (practical theologians) revelation is the manifestation of the Divine power, which, however, does not exclude the perceptive faculty of man, though it be but of secondary importance.⁽⁸⁾

⁽¹⁾ *Henke*, *Lineam*, i. 2: Quo magis adolescent homines.....

eo minus ponderis apud illos habet. . . . auctoritas aliorum. Hinc et omnis revelata religio paullatim in rationalem transit, et eo eniti potest homo, ut alienæ institutioni non amplius fontis, sed canalıs, non lucis, sed lucernæ (!) beneficium tribuat.

(²) *Lessing* was the first who suggested the idea of a perfectibility of the Christian religion, in his treatise: *Über Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*. The views of *Semler* respecting the local and temporary nature of Christianity, and the distinction which he made between public and private religion, seems to indicate that he held the same opinion. The same may be said in reference to the work of *Teller*: *Religion der Vollkommenen*. Comp. *Krug, W. T.*, *Briefe über die Perfectibilität der geoffenbarten Religion*, Jena u. Lpz. 1795. and *Ammon, Ch. F.*, *die Fortbildung des Christenthums zur Weltreligion*, Lpz. 1833-35. ii.

(³) In opposition to the Socinians, who rejected the idea of natural religion, as well as to the "Fanaticos, qui dicunt, rationem esse cæcam, corruptam, hominem a Deo magis abducere, quam ad Deum adducere," the adherents of the old orthodox school defended the use of reason in matters of religion, *e. g.*, *Beck*, in his *Fundamenta* p. 35 ss. *J. L. Frey* (professor of theology in Basle, died 1759), *de officio Doctoris christiani*, p. 33. 34: Cum enim lumen naturæ æque ac revelationis Deum patrem luminum auctorem agnoscat, nihil a Deo naturæ lumini repugnans revelari censendum est, nisi Deum sibi ipsi adversari, blasphemæ statuere in animum inducamus. Imo ne ipsius quidem revelationis divinitas credi posset, si quidquam rationis lumini repugnans in illa inveniretur. Comp. *Baumgarten*, *Glaubenslehre*, Einleitung. The distinction made between articuli puri et mixti. The advocates of modern evangelical Supranaturalism have again maintained, that reason is altogether blind in matters of religion.

(⁴) Comp. *Bretschneider*, *Entwurf* (new edit., 1841.) § 30. and most compendiums of dogmatic theology.

(⁵) See *Fichte*, *Kritik* etc. *Tieftrunk*, *Censur* p. 66 ss. p. 245 ss.

(⁶) According to *Herder*, the general meaning of revelation is disclosure, publication, enlightening, clear idea, perception, conviction. See the passages collected in *Herders Dogmatik* p. 20 ss.

(7) In the opinion of *Schelling* (*Method* p. 196.), the entire history is a divine revelation. According to *Blasche* (*Philosophie der Offenbarung*), revelation is equal to manifestation (§ 5.) Not only history, but also natural history, belongs to the province of divine revelation (§ 22.) He combats the common (supranaturalistic) view, according to which revelation is of divine origin § 43 ss. Revelation is opposed to mystery, and signifies the disclosure of mysteries, while, according to the common view, revelation itself contains mysteries, § 55 ss.

(8) *Twisten*, § 24 (vol. i. p. 340.), defines revelation as the "manifestations of divine grace for the salvation of mankind." Comp. the whole section, and *Nitzsch*, § 23 ss. *De Wette* shows the necessity of making a distinction between revelation and the inspiration of Holy Writ, *Dogmatik* § 26. On the difficulty of establishing precise definitions, see *Schleiermacher* § 10.

§ 289.

THE WORD OF GOD. SCRIPTURE AND TRADITION. THE INSPIRATION AND INTERPRETATION OF HOLY WRIT. MIRACLE AND PROPHECY.

During the preceding period Protestant theologians had been accustomed to call the Sacred Scriptures themselves the Word of God; in the course of the present a distinction was made between *the Word of God contained in Holy Writ* and the Sacred Scriptures.⁽¹⁾ The Rationalists themselves retained the (negative) principle of Protestantism, that the Sacred Scriptures are a purer source of knowledge than tradition.⁽²⁾ *Lessing*, however, advanced the opinion that tradition is older than Holy Writ.⁽³⁾ Some modern theologians endeavoured more precisely to determine the relation in which these two stand to each other, and showed that their difference is more relative than absolute.⁽⁴⁾ The critical treatment of the Sacred Scriptures gradually

undermined the authority of the former rigid theory of inspiration. For a time commentators sought to remove all difficulties by the application of the principle of accommodation,⁽⁵⁾ or by an arbitrary exegesis,⁽⁶⁾ but at last the Rationalists found themselves compelled to acknowledge that Christ and his apostles could have erred, at least in such things as do not constitute the essential parts of religion. This was the case especially with the miracles and prophecies to which the former apologists had appealed in support of their views. After they had in vain endeavoured to explain them away by artificial modes of interpretation, they ventured to assert that the sacred writers, in accordance with the peculiar circumstances of the times in which they lived, must write from a different point of view from that which modern theologians would take, thus renouncing the absolute authority of their compositions.⁽⁷⁾ The adherents of orthodox theology sought to avoid all difficulties by using the idea of *inspiration*,⁽⁸⁾ as well as that of *miracle*⁽⁹⁾ and *prophecy*,⁽¹⁰⁾ in a more comprehensive and spiritual sense. But at the same time they introduced much that was indefinite, the evil effect of which is still felt.

(1) *J. G. Töllner* (died 1774): *Der Unterschied der heiligen Schrift und des Wortes Gottes*, in his *Miscellaneous Essays*, Frankf. 1767 p. 85 ss. He shows, from the language of Scripture itself, that, by the *Word of God*, we are not to understand the Sacred Scriptures; on the other hand, there are some things in Holy Writ which do not belong to the Word of God (such as historical events); and, in connection with it, that not all the parts of Holy Writ are equally rich to the Word of God. Töllner goes even as far as to maintain, that the Word of God is not limited to the Sacred Scriptures, but also exists elsewhere; for he who propounds divine truth, propounds the Word of God. It is further contained in reason, and may be found in all the different forms of religion known among mankind, though Christians

possess the Word of God in its most excellent, most perfect, and clearest form in the Sacred Scriptures. *Herder* directed the attention of theologians to what may be called the *human* aspect of Scripture (Briefe über das Studium der Theologie, Brief i. Geist der ebräischen Poesie and elsewhere.)

(²) The Rationalists frequently ventured to maintain, that their system alone was in *accordance with Scripture*, and rejected the developement of doctrines, and the symbolical definitions, as something contrary to the principle of Protestantism.

(³) *Lessing*, in his controversy with *Götze*, appealed to the regula fidei in its earliest sense, which, in his opinion, existed previous to the written Word. Comp. his Works vi. vii. Theologischer Nachlass p. 115 ss. *Delbrück* revived this idea in his treatise: Philipp Melancthon, der Glaubenslehrer, Bonn 1826. He was opposed by *Sack*, *Nitzsch*, and *Lücke*, Bonn 1827.

(⁴) *Pelt*, in the first part of the theologischen Mitarbeiten, Kiel 1830. *Schenkel*, über das ursprüngliche Verhältniss der Kirche zum Kanon, Basel 1838. Compare with this work the modern compendiums of dogmatic theology, e. g., *Twisten* i. p. 115-119. 128-130. 288. *Marheinecke* Symbolik, ii. p. 187 ss. The critical researches respecting the origin of the Canon (from the time of Semler), rendered the distinction between Scripture and tradition more indefinite.

(⁵) The theory of accommodation was principally applied to the demoniacal and miraculous; Christ and his apostles accommodated themselves to the weakness and the prejudices of their contemporaries. Comp. *Senf*, Versuch über die Herablassung Gottes in der christlichen Religion, Halle 1792. *P. van Hemmert*, über die Accommodation im N. Test. translated from the Dutch, Dortm. u. Lpz. 1797. *Vogel*, Aufsätze theologischen Inhalts, Nürnberg. 1799. 2d part, and several others. This theory was combated by *Süskind*, über die Grenzen der Pflicht, keine Unwahrheit zu sagen, im Magazin St. 13. *Heringa*, über die Lehre Jesu und seiner Apostel, translated from the Dutch. Offenb. 1792. For more particulars as to the literature comp. *Bretschneider*, Entwurf p. 138 ss.

(⁶) The Rationalists are sometimes unjustly blamed, as if they alone had used that arbitrary mode of interpretation (the mode of explaining Christ's miracles adopted by Paulus and others.)

There were also supranaturalistic theologians, such as Storr, who had recourse to a most artificial exegesis, in order to remove differences in the various accounts of one and the same event etc., which appeared contrary to the theory of verbal inspiration. *Kant* introduced the system of moral interpretation [Davidson, Sacred, Hermeneutics p. 193 ss.] according to which preachers and schoolmasters ought to explain Scripture, apart from its original historical meaning, in such a manner, as is likely to prove useful to the moral condition of the people; See Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft, p. 149 ss. His theory was opposed by *Rosenmüller* (Erlangen 1794. 8.) In addition to the grammatico-historical system of interpretation which has been adopted by most modern commentators, *Germar* made use of the panharmonic, *Olshausen* and *Stier* of the allegorical mode of interpretation.

(7) Henke, Lineamenta c. 15. Wegscheider, Institutiones § 44. Tzschirner, Dogmatik c. ii. § 6.

(8) Several supranaturalists admitted that the sacred penmen wrote concerning things not essential (*i. e.* not belonging to religion) according to their best knowledge and ability: see *Reinhard*, Dogmatik, p. 59. (56.) *Storr*, Dogmatik § 11. In the same way the adherents of modern theology agree with the Rationalists in opposing the theory of verbal inspiration. This was the case especially with *Herder*, who, on the other hand, expressed himself with enthusiasm in favour of that which is truly inspired. Comp. his treatise: Vom Geist des Christenthums, von der Gabe der Sprachen, etc. (Dogmatik, p. 91 ss.) *Twisten*, i. p. 414, 415. The normative authority of the sacred Scriptures in matters of religion was secured by regarding the New Testament writings as the primitive productions of the Holy Spirit under the Christian dispensation, to which all later works stand in the same relation in which copies stand to the original. Comp. *Schleiermacher*, christlicher Glaube, ii. p. 340 ss. According to *De Wette*, Dogmatik p. 40, the essential part of interpretation is: "the religious perception of the Divine operation, or of the Holy Spirit in the sacred writers as regards their belief and inspiration, but not respecting their faculty of forming ideas," etc. Comp. Hase p. 509 ss. *Billroth*, who belonged to the speculative school, expressed himself as follows (Vorrede zum Commen-

tar über die Corinther Briefe, p. vii.): "It is the object of systematic theology, to comprehend that which is truly *rational*, even the *Spirit* who has manifested himself in the Christian religion. But since this Spirit has assumed a *visible* form in the revelation of God, it was apprehended by men whose education was influenced by the peculiar circumstances of their age. These men were in the first instance the apostles, etc." Comp. Marheinecke, Dogmatik p. 358 ss.

(9) From the times of Spinoza (Tract. theol. pol. c. 6. de miraculis) and Hume, the Rationalists did not cease to oppose the reality and credibility of miracles, while the adherents of modern Supranaturalism rested belief in revelation especially on that branch of evidence; in this they differed, *e. g.* from Luther, comp. Hase, Dogmatik p. 207. The theory of preformation advanced by *Bonnet* (according to which God has a priori included the miracles in the course of nature), did not meet with general approbation, see his "philosophische Untersuchungen," etc. edited by Lavater, Zürich 1768. The modern theory of *Olshausen*, who regards the miracles as a more advanced process of nature, bears some resemblance to the preceding. *Lavater* believed that miracles are still taking place. According to the philosophy of Kant, it is neither possible absolutely to prove the *reality* of miracles, nor can their *possibility* be absolutely denied (a difference is made between logical, physical, and moral possibility), see *Tieftrunk* p. 245 ss. Kant, Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft p. 107 ss.) The Rationalists endeavoured to comprehend the miraculous as something natural, while the philosophers asserted that the natural made perfect by the Spirit (which perfection consists in their close union) is the only true miracle. But thus the empirical idea of the miracle (in Scripture) was destroyed, and regarded as the symbolical expression of a speculative idea. See *Schelling*, Methode p. 181. 203. and comp. *Bockshammer* and *Rosenkranz* in Strauss, Dogmatik p. 244 ss. The *natural* interpretation of miracles rather served the purposes of Rationalism, while the adherents of modern speculative philosophy gave the preference to that hypothesis according to which the miracles related in Scripture are myths, because it is more agreeable to the negative tendency of that school. (This hypothesis was most fully developed by *Strauss*, in his *Leben*

Jesu. [The Life of Jesus, translated Lond. 1846. 3 voll. comp. British Quarterly Review 1847, No. IX. p. 218 ss.] The adherents of modern orthodoxy use a more liberal, but also considerate and cautious mode of reasoning in order to defend the credibility of the historical relations of the sacred writers. But some of them *e. g.* *De Wette* and *Schleiermacher* also admit mythical elements. As regards the idea of miracle itself, they make a distinction between the objective and the subjective, and, generally speaking, adopt the principle of Augustine, (comp. Vol. i. § 118. p. 314. and note 1.) See *Schleiermacher* i. p. 120. *De Wette* p. 34. *Twisten*, i. p. 357 ss. and *Nitzsch* p. 64, are more orthodox. The literature is more fully given by *Bretschneider*, Entwurf p. 235 ss. Comp. also the views of *Herder* on this point, Dogmatik p. 60.

(10) Among orthodox theologians *Bengel* and *Crusius* in particular treated of the theology of the prophets, and attached great importance not only to the prophecies, but also to the types of the Old Testament (comp. § 276.) The latter Supranaturalists did not go quite so far. After the antiquity of some prophecies (*e. g.* those of Daniel) had been impugned, and the Messianic prophecies been referred to other historical events, the Rationalists at last maintained that in the Old Testament there are no prophecies at all referring to Christ, and still less types. See *Eckermann*, theologische Beiträge i. 1. p. 7 ss. and comp. the literature given by *Bretschneider*, Entwurf p. 207 ss. The adherents of modern orthodoxy did not pay so much attention to the announcement of particular and more incidental events, as to the internal necessity of the historical developement of the kingdom of heaven, in which the earlier periods are typical of those which take place in later times, and according to which every thing has found its fulfilment in Christ who is the centre of the history of the world. See *Herder*, Dogmatik p. 196 ss. *Schleiermacher*, Darstellung des theologischen Studiums, § 46. Glaubenslehre i. p. 105. There is, however, a difference of opinion between *Twisten* i. p. 372 ss. and *Nitzsch* p. 66, on the one hand, and *De Wette* p. 36, (§ 24, b.) and *Hase* p. 209, on the other.

The views of *Swedenborg* concerning the nature and significance of the *Sacred Scriptures* were peculiar to himself. See *Hauber*, Swedenborgs Ansicht von der heiligen Schrift (Tübinger Zeitschrift 1840. part 4. p. 32 ss.) He regarded (like the Supra-

naturalists) the Scriptures as the Word of God, but he differed from the latter in applying this appellation not to what we commonly call the Sacred Scriptures, but to another Scripture antecedent to ours, viz. the Scripture of angels, which is both antecedent and superior to the terrestrial. As regards the empirical Scriptures, he has his own Canon (comp. Hauber p. 80.), and in those writings which he admits as canonical, he makes a distinction between those passages in which God himself speaks (*quando e cathedra loquitur*), and those in which angels speak in his name. But even in these cases a *new revelation* is necessary, that the *spiritual* meaning of Scripture may be apprehended by all readers. This spiritual meaning must be granted from above. Swedenborg's view concerning the Scriptures stood in close connection with his christology.

As regards the relation in which the Old Testament stands to the New, we find that those Rationalists who, after the example of Kant, regarded the Sacred Scriptures merely as a means of edification, scarcely made a distinction between the one and the other, because there was also in the Old Test. (*e.g.* in the Book of Proverbs) much that was subservient to moral purposes. Nor did they concern themselves much about the difference between canonical and apocryphal writings (some preferred the book of Jesus Sirach to the writings of Paul and John.) But even some orthodox theologians were induced, by idealistic and poetical tendencies, to give the preference to the Old Testament. Thus *Herder* and *De Wette* (*Religion und Theologie* p. 212 ss.) On the other hand, there are some Rationalists who attach greater importance to the New Testament. Comp. *Wegscheider* T. i. c. 1. § 32. *Schleiermacher*, in connection with his entire theological system, ascribed normative authority to the New Testament alone, asserting that the Old Testament had only historical significance. *Glaubenslehre* ii. § 132. The advocates of modern Supernaturalism (such as *Hengstenberg* and *Hävernick*) have again attached great importance to the Old Testament.

SECOND SECTION.

THEOLOGY PROPER. CREATION AND PROVIDENCE. THE DOCTRINE CONCERNING ANGELS AND DEVILS.

§ 290.

DEISM. THEISM. PANTHEISM.

The contrast between Rationalism and the earlier Supranaturalism manifested itself with less vigour in the doctrine concerning God, and the relation in which he stands to the world. The adherents of both systems retained the theistic distinction between God and the world, but often lost sight of its higher import, so as to hold the principles of a dead, mechanical Deism. There was, however, this difference, that the Supranaturalist admitted occasional acts of interposition on the part of God in the course of events,⁽¹⁾ which were denied by the more consistent Rationalists. Of greater importance is the distinction between this theistico-deistic theory and the pantheistic system.⁽²⁾ The latter manifests itself partly as pure Pantheism, partly as true Theism, which has the appearance of Pantheism only if contrasted with the dead Deism referred to.⁽³⁾

(1) Thus in the case of answers granted to prayer, and of miracles. Compare the mechanical theory of miracles propounded by *Reinhard* p. 230 ss.

(2) Pantheism has been differently defined by various authors. According to *Wegscheider* p. 250. Pantheism is : ea sententia, qua naturam divinam mundo supponunt et Deum ac mundum unum idemque esse statuunt.—Both Rationalists and Supranaturalists have on moral grounds combated this kind of Pantheism, even the mere appearance of it : the adherents of speculative philosophy, however, have rejected this definition ; see *Hegel*, Encyclopædie, 2d edit. p. 521.

(3) Thus *Herder* said concerning Spinoza : he was an arch theist before all theists (*Dogmatik* p. 129. comp. his discourses, especially that on the nature of God.) A controversy was carried on respecting the Pantheism of *Schleiermacher* (particularly in his : *Reden über die Religion*) ; he was charged with holding pantheistic principles by *Röhr*, but defended by *Karsten* (Rostock 1835.) *Henke* pronounced a more favourable opinion respecting the theistico-pantheistic tendency :—*Lineam*. § xxxi. : Summa autem injuria omnes illi Atheorum numero accensentur, qui summum Numen ab hoc universo secretum ac disparatum cogitare nesciunt maluntque Deum rerum omnium causam *immanentem*, quam *transeuntem*, dici, nec tamen, id, quod perpetuo est commiscunt cum illo, quod perpetuo fit. Quorum error, profecto magis fanaticus, quam impius, *Pantheismus* et *Spinozismus* vocatur, si modo error est Numinis, omnibus rebus præsentissimi, cogitatio, a qua neque ipse Paulus admodum abhorruisse videtur (*Act.* xvii. 27–29.) et quæ amice satis conciliari potest cum Numinis, moribus intelligentium naturarum providentis, notione. Comp. *Hase*, *Dogmatik* p. 150. The modern orthodox theologians and philosophers are labouring so to represent the doctrine of a personal God, that we may apprehend him neither (in the manner of the Deists) as existing without and being distinct from the world, nor (in the manner of the Pantheists) as existing merely in and being entirely connected with the world, but (in the manner of the Theists) as a being that exists at the same time in and above the world, and is distinctly separated from it.

§ 291.

THE EXISTENCE AND ATTRIBUTES OF GOD.

Up to the time of Kant, theologians continued to prove the existence of God much in the same way as had been done in former periods, some laying greater stress upon one mode of argumentation, others endeavouring to demonstrate the superiority of another.⁽¹⁾ But after *Kant* had shown that the usual arguments do not establish what they are intended to prove,⁽²⁾ and substituted the moral argument,⁽³⁾ they gradually disappeared from scientific works on the subject. The physico-theological proof, however, was retained, because of its adaptation to the wants of the people and the young.⁽⁴⁾ *Schleiermacher* returned to man's original consciousness of God, which is antecedent to all proofs;⁽⁵⁾ most modern theologians followed his example, while the adherents of speculative philosophy again pointed out the more profound significance of the former arguments.⁽⁶⁾ The same may be said in reference to the Divine attributes,⁽⁷⁾ which *Schleiermacher* regarded as subjective, *i. e.*, as the reflection of the consciousness of God in man.⁽⁸⁾ On the other hand, the speculative philosophers ascribe to them reality, though in a different sense from that commonly attached to this expression.⁽⁹⁾

(1) *Fénelon*, démonstration de l'existence de Dieu, Par. 1712. The *ontological* argument was propounded by *Mendelssohn*, Morgenstunden, Berlin 1785, and others; the *cosmological* by *Baumgarten*, Glaubenslehre i. Appendix to § 13. p. 923; the *physico-theological* by *Derham*, Physicotheologie, or a demonstration of the being and attributes of God from his works, Lond. 1714. *Sander*, *Bonnet*, and several others.

(2) In his : Kritik der reinen Vernunft, iii. 3. p. 611 ss. (3d edit. Riga 1790.) In his opinion the existence of God can be proved on speculative grounds only in a threefold manner ; either by the physico-theological, or the cosmological, or the ontological argument. These are the only modes of argumentation, nor is it possible that there should be more. *The ontological proof is not admissible*, because its advocates confound a logical predicate with a real. “ A hundred real dollars do not contain anything more than a hundred possible.....But in reference to my property a hundred real dollars are more than the mere idea of that sum (*i. e.* of its possibility.)”.....“ The idea of a supreme being is in many respects a very profitable idea ; but because it is a *mere idea*, it cannot by itself enlarge our knowledge of that which exists ;” for “ a man might as well increase his knowledge by mere ideas, as a merchant augment his property by adding some ciphers to the sum total on his books. *In opposition to the cosmological proof* he urged that its advocates commit an Ignoratio elenchi, *i. e.* they promise to show us a new way, but bring us back to the old (ontological) proof, because their argument is also founded on a dialectic fiction. *In reference to the physico-theological proof* he said : “ This argument is always deserving of our respect. It is the earliest, clearest, and most adapted to common sense. It enlivens the study of nature, from which it also derives its existence, and through which it obtains new vigour. It shows to us an object and a design where we should not have discovered them by independent observation, and enlarges our knowledge of nature by making us acquainted with a particular unity whose principle is above nature. But this knowledge exerts a reacting influence upon its cause, viz. the idea from which it derives its origin, and so confirms the belief in a supreme creator, that it becomes an irresistible conviction. Nevertheless this argument cannot secure apodictical certainty ; at the utmost it might prove the existence of a *builder of the world*, but not that of a *creator of the world*.

(3) Comp. Raymund of Sabunde vol. i. p. 449. *Kant*, Kritik der reinen Vernunft p. 832 ss. Kritik der praktischen Vernunft p. 223 ss. Morality and a degree of happiness corresponding to it are the two elements constituting the supreme good. But the virtuous do not always attain it. There

must, therefore, be a compensation in the world to come, (thus the same argument is used to prove the immortality of the soul.) At the same time there must be a being that possesses both the requisite intelligence and the will to bring about this compensation. Hence the existence of God is a postulate of practical reason.

(⁴) Especially in England; see *Paley, W.*, Natural theology or evidences of the existence and attributes of the Deity, 16th edit. 1817. Translated into German Manh. 1823. with additions by *Lord Brougham* and *Sir Charles Bell*, translated into German by *Hauff*. Stuttg. 1837. The Bridgewater treatises 1836 ss. Comp. *Müller, W.*, Kritik des physico-theologischen Beweises in *Röhrs Magazin*, vol. iv. part. 1. 1831. p. 1–35.

(⁵) Glaubenslehre i. § 32 ss.

(⁶) *Hegel*, Vorlesungen über die Beweise vom Dasein Gottes. Appendix to the second volume of the philosophy of religion. *Strauss*, Dogmatik i. p. 400. : “The cosmological argument proves God to be the being existing in all beings, the physico-theological shows him to be the life existing in all living creatures, the historical and moral arguments prove that he is the moral governor of the world, and lastly, the ontological shows that he is the Spirit existing in all spirits, the Thinking existing in all thinking beings.”

(⁷) *Reinhard*, Dogmatik p. 90 ss. divided the attributes of God into quiescent and active attributes, etc.

(⁸) Glaubenslehre, i. § 50.

(⁹) *Hegel*, Encyclopædie i. § 36. p. 73. (see *Strauss*, Dogmatik i. p. 542.)

§ 292.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY.

Although the ecclesiastical doctrine of the Trinity had not been materially altered during the period of the Reformation, it was now attacked by numerous opponents. Not only did Arianism make its appearance in England, but various modifications of Socinianism

found also their way into German theology.⁽¹⁾ The Rationalists were, properly speaking, Unitarians ;⁽²⁾ on the other hand, some Supranaturalists did not hold the strict doctrine of *ecclesiastical* orthodoxy.⁽³⁾ *Swedenborg* referred the Trinity to the person of Christ.⁽⁴⁾ The adherents of the school of *Zinzendorf* exposed themselves to the charge of destroying the relation in which the persons stand to each other, by paying excessive homage to the Son.⁽⁵⁾ Modern theologians have again apprehended the more profound speculative basis of this doctrine, but while some (after the example of *Schleiermacher*), refer the Trinity, in the manner of Sabellius, to the work of redemption,⁽⁶⁾ others think that it has regard to the nature of the Deity.⁽⁷⁾ On the place which they assign to the doctrine of the Trinity, and the degree of importance which they attach to it, depend their views in this respect.⁽⁸⁾

⁽¹⁾ *Samuel Clarke* was dismissed from his charge (1714) in the reign of Queen Anne, on account of his work concerning the Trinity (1712.) He maintained that the Son was subordinate to the Father, and the Holy Spirit to both the Father and the Son; nor did he afterwards alter his opinion. Comp. Schlegel, *Kirchengeschichte des 18. Jahrhundert.* ii. p. 746 ss. *J. J. Wettstein* compared the Son of God to a prime minister, and his relation to the Father to that of a prime minister to his monarch, or of a curate to his rector; see Hagenbach, *Ueber Wettstein* in *Illgens Zeitschrift für historische Theologie.* The theory of subordination was also adopted by other German theologians. See *Töllner*, *theologische Untersuchungen*, 1762. vol. i. part. i. He combated the opinion that the doctrine of the Trinity is a fundamental doctrine; see his *Vermischte Aufsätze* ii. 1.

⁽²⁾ According to *Wegscheider*, *Institut.* § 93. the doctrine of the Trinity belongs to those doctrines: *quæ justa auctoritate certoque fundamento destituta sunt*; comp. Henke, *Lineam* lxxix.

⁽³⁾ Thus *J. A. Urlsperger*, *kurzgefasstes System seines Vor-*

trags von Gottes Dreienigkeit, Augsb. 1777. The author of this work maintained, that the divine predicates, *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, have reference only to the work of redemption [Germ. Trinity of revelation]; he did not deny that there is a difference of persons in the divine nature [Germ. Trinity of nature], which he was willing to adore as a mystery, but he rejected the idea that *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, are its necessary and personal predicates.

(4) He taught that, instead of a Trinity of *persons* (set forth in the symbols of the church), we must hold a Trinity of the *person*, by which he understood, that that which is divine in the nature of Christ is the *Father*, that the divine which is united to the human, is the *Son*, and the divine which proceeds from him is the *Holy Spirit*. The first Christians, in their simplicity, believed in *three* persons, because they understood everything in its literal sense. The orthodox Trinitarians may also go to heaven, where they will be enlightened on this subject. But none can be admitted into heaven who believes in the existence of *three* Gods, though with his mouth he may confess only *one*; for the entire life of heaven, and the wisdom of all the angels, is founded on the recognition and confession of *one* God, and on the belief that that *one* God is also man, and that *he* who is at the same time God and man, is the Lord (Jehovah, Zebaoth, Shaddai.) See his Götliche Offenbarung i. (die Lehre des neuen Jerusalem vom Herrn, edit. by Tafel 1823.) p. 118 ss.

(5) See *Bengel*, Abriss der sogenannten Brüdergemeinde, p. 74, 75: "Can any one approve of the doctrine of Zinzendorf, who refuses to attribute the work of creation to the Father, and maintains that he (the Father) was either ministering to and assisting his Son, or looking at his work, or enjoying divine rest, while the latter was creating the world? *who further ascribes so many other things which also belong to the Father, to the Son alone?* and lastly, who treats in so presumptuous a way, the divine doctrine of the Ever-blessed Deity?" p. 119: "We ought not to pass over the Son, but neither also the Father." *Bengel* also finds fault with the *familiar* style in which Zinzendorf treats of these mysteries. Comp., on this point, his treatise, above mentioned, p. 78 ss. Wackernagel, Lesebuch iii. p. 1063. In the *Idea fidei fratrum* is no particular locus de *Trinitate*, but a

section concerning the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost (§ 84.) The doctrine in question is there simply treated in its Scriptural aspects, to which is added : It is not only vain and foolish, but also dangerous to descend into the depths of the Deity, and the incomprehensible eternity of which nothing is revealed to us. Therefore we do not inquire into those things which belong to the depths of the Deity, because we hold such conduct to be better than to endeavour to determine that which Scripture has not determined. It clearly teaches us : God has an only-begotten Son whom he has offered for us ; there is also only one Holy Ghost who is uncreated, but proceeds from the Father, and is communicated to us through Christ.

(⁶) *Schleiermacher* (Abhandlung über Sabellius in der Berliner Zeitschrift. Glaubenslehre ii. § 170 ss. (p. 574 ss.) *De Wette*, kirkliche Dogmatik § 43. 44. (p. 81. 82.) *Twisten*, Dogmatik ii. p. 179 ss. *Lücke*, in the Studien und Kritiken, 1840. part 1. p. 91. On the other side : *Nitzsch*, in the Studien und Kritiken 1841. part 2.

(⁷) *Lessing*, (Erziehung des Menschengeschlechtes, § 73.) expressed himself as follows : “ This doctrine (of the Trinity) will lead human reason to acknowledge, that God cannot possibly be understood to be one, by that reason to which all finite things are one ; that his unity must also be a transcendental unity which does not exclude a kind of plurality.” *Schelling*, Methode des akademischen Studiums. p. 192 : “ It is clear that the idea of Trinity is absurd, unless it be considered on speculative grounds.The incarnation of God is an eternal incarnation.” Comp. p. 184. Comp. *Blasche*, das Böse etc. p. 106, 107. *Hegel*, Religionsphilosophie vol. ii. p. 230 ss. : “ By God being a living spirit, we understand that he can distinguish himself from himself, produce Another, and in this Other remain identical with himself. This being Another is the eternal absorption and production of himself. p. 261. : That which first existed was the idea in its simple universality, the *Father*. The second is the particular, the idea in its manifestation, the *Son*, viz., the idea in its external existence, so that the external manifestation is changed into the first, and known as the divine idea, the identity of the divine with the human. The third is this consciousness, God as the *Holy Spirit*, and this spirit in his existence is the

church." *Daub* makes a distinction between *Deus a quo, in quo et cui satis est Deus*, *Theologum*, p. 110. *Marheinecke*, *Dogmatik* p. 260: "In a direct and abstract sense God is only the identity, the existence which is neither thought nor spirit *as such*. In order to be God in reality, he distinguishes himself from himself, sets himself as a something else in distinction from himself, and inasmuch as he exists *for* himself in this separate existence, he is the Son. But inasmuch as he refers himself to himself, and abrogates the separate existence, he is a being existing in and for himself [Germ. *An und für sich seiender*], or spirit. Concerning the relation in which this speculative Trinity stands to the ecclesiastical doctrine, see *Strauss*, *Dogmatik* 1. p. 492.

(⁸) Schleiermacher and Hase assign to it the last place in their systems, the adherents of Hegel the first; the former consider it the topstone, the latter the foundation of the building.

§ 293.

CREATION AND PRESERVATION OF THE WORLD. PROVIDENCE, THEODICY.

After the followers of the Wolfian philosophy had in vain endeavoured to reconcile the Mosaic account of the creation with the results and hypotheses of their natural philosophy and metaphysics,⁽¹⁾ *Herder* ably represented it as a myth (Germ. *Sage*) clothed in a poetic dress whose internal truth he acknowledged.⁽²⁾ Since that time only a few writers have defended its literal meaning.⁽³⁾ The definitions concerning the *idea of creation itself*, and the cognate ideas of *preservation, providence, and the government of the world*, are closely connected with the systems of *Deism, Theism, and Pantheism*,⁽⁴⁾ (comp. § 290.) Farther, the so-called *Theodicy* (*i. e.* the mode of explaining the existence of evil in the

world)⁽⁵⁾ stands in connection with these fundamental views.

⁽¹⁾ Comp. the views entertained by Michaelis and others in the work of Herder (note 2.) ; for further particulars see Bretschneider, *Entwicklung* p. 450 ss. *Silberschlag*, *Geogonie, oder Erklärung der mosaischen Schöpfungsgeschichte*, Berlin 1780-83. 3 voll. 4o.

⁽²⁾ Herder in his: *Die älteste Urkunde des Menschengeschlechtes Eine nach Jahrhunderten enthüllte heilige Schrift*. 1774 ss. Comp. the review in the *allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* xxv. p. 24. xxx. p. 53. *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, vol. ii. p. 303 ss. *Geist der hebraeischen Poesie* i, p. 139 ss.

⁽³⁾ Comp. Bretschneider p. 451. Supranaturalists also, such as Reinhard (p. 167 ss.) and others, held less rigid opinions.

⁽⁴⁾ The idea of *a creation out of nothing* is founded on theistic views of the world. These views are deistic when the creation and preservation of the world are too much separated from each other, and the connection existing between them is destroyed; they become pantheistic when creation appears as a mere part of preservation. Comp. the passages from the works of Fichte, Hegel, and Marheinecke, collected by Hase, p. 179. and Schleiermacher, *christliche Glaubenslehre* i. § 40. Further, the idea of *providence* is theistic, and intimately connected with the idea of a personal God; it is wanting in the schemes of Deism and Pantheism.

⁽⁵⁾ *Blasche, C. H.*, *das Böse im Einklange mit der Weltordnung dargestellt*, Leipz. 1827. He has revived the earlier notions, that evil is necessary in order to form a contrast with good, etc.

§ 294.

THE DOCTRINE CONCERNING ANGELS AND DEMONS.

During this prosaic age the belief in the existence

and agency of angels had almost wholly disappeared, and the Supranaturalists themselves, who, on the authority of Scripture, continued to believe in their existence, knew not what functions to assign to them.⁽¹⁾ On the contrary, *Swedenborg* pretended to a higher knowledge of the nature of angels, but most arbitrarily substituted the notion of glorified men for the Scriptural idea of angels, and denied the personal existence of the devil.⁽²⁾ The devil had become a subject of derision with the advocates of what were called the enlightened views of the age. *Semler* explained (after the example of *Bekker*) the demoniacal possessions by a reference to empirical psychology.⁽³⁾ But even those Supranaturalists who, on exegetical grounds, believed in the reality of the demoniacal possessions recorded in the New Testament, were far from asserting their possibility in our age.⁽⁴⁾ In the present century, however, the belief in demoniacal possessions as affecting the body, which had continued to obtain among the lower orders of the people notwithstanding the progress of civilization, was revived among the educated classes of Protestants themselves, and for the most part brought into connection with the phenomena of animal magnetism and visions.⁽⁵⁾ The doctrine concerning the devil was again prominently brought forward. *Schleiermacher* showed its importance in a poetic aspect, viz. as regards sacred poetry,⁽⁶⁾ while *Daub* endeavoured to assign a kind of personal existence to the author of evil; the latter, however, introduced some Manichæan elements into this doctrine.⁽⁷⁾ Many theologians are now of opinion that where the doctrine concerning evil is rightly understood, the belief in metaphysical existence of the devil is of subordinate importance, inasmuch as he, according to Scripture, belongs to that order of finite beings by whom

Christians, may be tempted but ought not to be overcome.⁽⁸⁾

⁽¹⁾ Thus *Reinhard*, p. 176 ss. He does not venture to decide which office they have in the present time (p. 191.) Storr. § 49. (quoted by Hase, *Dogmatik* p. 237.)

⁽²⁾ *Göttliche Offenbarung* i. p. 87.: "Men are always surrounded by spirits and angels of God, who understand everything spiritually, because they themselves possess a spiritual nature. After death men are also instructed by angels," p. 102. *Comp.* ii. p. 102. 126. 178. 226. In many places Swedenborg relates his discourses with angels who, in his opinion, are human beings. Angels breathe as well as men, their heart also beats; they breathe according to the measure of Divine wisdom which they receive from the Lord; their heart beats according to the measure of Divine love which they receive from the Lord, p. 112. *comp.* p. 220. Angels and spirits are also men; for all the good and true which proceeds from man is, according to its form, man; but the Lord is the Divine-Good, and the Divine-True itself, hence he is the man himself from whom every man is man, i. p. 112. Because angels are angels on account of the degree of love and wisdom which they possess, and the same is the case with men, it is evident, that on account of the good connected with the true, angels are angels of heaven, and men are men of the church, p. 157. The wisdom of angels consists in the power to see and to apprehend what they think, p. 213. All that takes place in the spiritual world, is correspondence; for it is corresponding to the tendencies of angels and spirits, p. 250. In opposition to the doctrine of the church, that the angels were created at first, and that the devil is a fallen angel, Swedenborg professes (p. 180.) to be taught by the angels themselves that in the whole heaven there is not one single angel who was created at first, nor in the whole hell one single devil who was created as an angel of light, etc., but that *all angels*, both in heaven and in hell, *derive their origin from the human race*. Hell and devil are one thing, and angels and heaven are one thing, *comp.* p. 303. That which is in man, viz., his spirit, is, according to its true nature, an angel, p. 281., therefore man is created to become an angel, p. 289. In some places Swedenborg understands

the Scriptural term : angel in a symbolical sense. Comp. vol. ii. p. 6. 16. 18. 52. 307.

(³) De Dæmoniacis, 1760 (4th edit. 1779.)—Versuch einer biblischen Daemonologie, Halle 1776.

(⁴) Reinhard p. 195 ss. p. 206. speaks only of those diseases which the devil is said to have caused in the times of Christ and his apostles. Comp. p. 211. “We admit such corporeal possessions in the narratives of the gospel only on the testimony of Christ and his apostles. Accordingly, when such an authentic testimony is wanting in modern times, no man is justified in maintaining that a diseased man is truly possessed with a devil.” Comp. Storr § 52. (quoted by Hase p. 238.)

(⁵) The exorcisms practised by *Gassner*, a member of the Roman Catholic Church (from the year 1773.) See *Walch*, neueste Religionsgeschichte, vol. vi. p. 371. p. 541 ss. *Justinus Kerner*, (who belongs to the Protestant Church) : die Scherinn von Prevorst, Stuttg. 1832, 2 voll. Ueber das Besessensein, Heilbr. 1833. Geschichte Besessener neuerer Zeit, nebst Reflexionen von *Eschenmayer*, Karlsruhe 1836.

(⁶) Glaubenslehre i. § 45. p. 243.

(⁷) Judas Ischariot, oder das Böse im Verhältnisse zum Guten betrachtet, 2 parts in 3 sections. Heidelb. 1816–19. (Comp. *Kant*, Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft, p. 99 ss.)

(⁸) *Kant*, l. c. p. 66. *Twisten*, Dogmatik ii. p. 331 ss. comp. p. 358–360.

THIRD SECTION.

 ANTHROPOLOGY. CHRISTOLOGY. SOTERIOLOGY
 AND THE ECONOMY OF REDEMPTION.

§. 295.

THE DOCTRINES CONCERNING MAN, SIN, AND LIBERTY.

We may expect as a matter of course, that in an age in which philosophical and theological works were full of “*philanthropy* and *humanity*,” much would be said concerning the nature, dignity, and destination of man.⁽¹⁾ In opposition to Augustine’s views, the excellency of the human nature was extolled, and (after the example of Rousseau) many indulged in fanciful representations of the ideal state of man.⁽²⁾ The rationalistic theologians erased the doctrine of original sin from their systems.⁽³⁾ On the contrary, *Kant* himself pointed out the innate evil in man, but did not understand by it original sin in its ecclesiastical sense.⁽⁴⁾ The adherents of later speculative philosophy were also far from believing that the natural state of man is the normal one, they admitted that he had fallen from his original state, and a reconciliation had become necessary, and attached little importance to the Pelagian idea of liberty, upon which Rationalists laid great weight. But after a closer examination of their theory, it appeared that the kind of original sin they established was identical with the

finite character of the nature and consciousness of man which is a matter of necessity. Thus the idea of sin and responsibility was destroyed, and a doctrine introduced which would prove fatal to all true morality.⁽⁵⁾ In opposition to both these tendencies (the rationalistic and the speculative) the Pietists and those theologians who returned to the received faith of the church, revived the doctrine of Augustine in its essential points,⁽⁶⁾ to which the followers of *Schleiermacher* also adhered, though with various modifications.⁽⁷⁾ At present the regeneration of the church and of theology are chiefly to be expected from a right understanding of the doctrine concerning sin.⁽⁸⁾

(1) It is worthy of notice that physical and psychological anthropology, which had formerly been treated in connection with systematic theology, was now separated from it. *Man* was made the subject of philosophical treatises written in a popular style, see *Pope*, *Essay on Man*, 1733. *Spalding*, *Bestimmung des Menschen*, Lpz. 1748. *Zollikofer*, *J. J.*, *Predigten über die Würde des Menschen*, Lpz. 1783. *Ith*, *J.*, *Anthropologie oder Philosophie des Menschen*, vol. i. Winterthur 1803. (For further particulars see *Bretschneider*, *Entwurf* p. 493 ss.) *Herder* has most ably represented man in his purely human aspect.

(2) *Comp.* § 274. The modern system of education was, in particular, founded on the doctrine of the excellency of human nature. *Comp.* *Campe*, *Theophron*, 1806. p. 234 ss.

(3) *Steinbart* (in the 5th section of his: *System der reinen Philosophie.*) *Henke*, *Lineamenta*, lxxxii.: Cavendum est, ne hanc peccandi facultatem, hunc vitiorum fomitem cum ipsis vitiis, ignis materiam cum incendio, permisceamus, atque propterea totum genus humanum, perditum, corruptum, propter hanc suam indolem displicere Deo, vel parvulos adeo, recens in lucem editos, indignationi divinæ obnoxios esse dicamus, *quod ne de catulis quidem sanus quisquam ausit dicere*, etc. Quæ omnia (he then continues, p. lxxxiv.) ambiguitatis et erroris plena commenta sunt, pro lubitu arrepta, et præter sanæ rationis ac scripturæ sacræ adsensum.

(4) Vom radicalen Bösen in der menschlichen Natur (Berliner Monatsschrift, April 1792.)—Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft.—Gegen die Schwärmereien der Paedagogen, p. 4. and 5. The natural tendency to evil manifests itself in three different ways: 1. As frailty (*fragilitas*); 2. As impurity (*impuritas, improbitas*); 3. As malice and perversity (*vitiositas, pravitas, perversitas*.) The proposition: Man is wicked, means: he is conscious of moral laws, but he thinks it consistent with his principles of action, occasionally to deviate from them. The proposition: He is *by nature* wicked, means: he is wicked because he belongs to the *genus humanum*. (*Vitiis nemo sine nascitur, Horat.*) This tendency (to evil) has not its origin in the sensuality of man, but in his liberty, hence he is responsible for it. There are also different degrees of innate guilt (*reatus*.) The *culpa* corresponds to frailty and impurity; the *dolus* (*dolus malus*) corresponds to malice. Nevertheless Kant maintains (p. 37.) that all theories respecting the propagation of this original evil, that is the most incorrect, which represents us as having inherited it from our first parents; for what the poet says in reference to good, may also be applied to moral evil: *Genus et proavos, et quæ non fecimus ipsi, vix ea nostra puto*. In his opinion the narrative of Adam's fall is only a symbol which he explains according to his principles of moral interpretation, p. 40–44. Therefore the doctrine of innate evil is not of importance for *systematic theology*, but only for moral edification (p. 56.) On this account Kant's theory of original evil does not lead to the doctrine of redemption (in its ecclesiastical sense), but he comes to the conclusion: "That which man, considered from the moral point of view, is or is to be, whether good or wicked, *depends on his own actions*" (p. 45.) Comp. also § 298. on the economy of redemption. Herder therefore said: Nobody knows how this original evil entered into the human nature, nor how it may escape from it." (Von Religion, Lehrmeinungen und Gebräuchen p. 204. 5.) For the further developement of Kant's theory see *Tieftrunk*, Censur iii. p. 112 ss. The later Rationalists rested satisfied with regarding evil as something which experience proves to exist among men, without tracing its origin to the sin of our first parents; nor did they deny that those who aspire

after higher moral perfection may rise above sin. Wegscheider § 118.

⁽⁵⁾ *Schelling*, Methode des akademischen Studiums p. 176. The new (Christian) world commences with a general fall, the defection of man from nature. The surrender to nature itself does not constitute sin, but, as long as it is not conscious of the contrary, it forms rather the golden age. The consciousness of this surrender destroys innocence, and therefore demands reconciliation and voluntary submission, in which liberty comes off both conquered and as conqueror. This is more fully developed by *Blasche*, l. c. p. 224 : "Original sin has not propagated itself, because our first parents accidentally sinned, and all other men are their descendants, but because the first conscious life of man, and the continuation and growth of this consciousness, are an original act of sin. The propagation of sin does not so much take place by *physical*, as by *psychical* generation, by which we understand education,^a on which the developement of man's consciousness, in a social point of view, depends. The biblical narrative of the fall is an allegorical representation of the developement of the consciousness of our first parents. Their condition antecedent to this event, the life in paradise, the state of innocence, was (like the state of earliest infancy in general) an unconscious life of instinct ; for all mental developement commences with the consciousness of man. From this it is evident, that as, in the physical creation, it is not good, but evil,^b which forms the beginning, the same must be the case in the higher spiritual creation (the culture of the mind), which commences with consciousness. In the world of spirits good must first come into existence, and is based upon evil." (Comp. the theory of the Ophites vol. i. § 62.) *Hegel* defined original sin as the natural state [Germ. natürliches Ansichsein] of man, inasmuch as he is conscious of it. Philosophie der Religion vol. i. p. 194 ss. ii. p. 208 ss. *Strauss*, Dogmatik ii. p. 69-74.

⁽⁶⁾ The Pietists and Methodists laid great stress upon the consciousness of sin (comp. § 276 a. 77.) In the *Idea fidei fratrum*

^a "Education must necessarily first *seduce* that man who is in a state of mental developement, before it can lead him to virtue."

^b The word "sin" is here used in its most comprehensive sense, so that it is applied even to *physical diseases*. Comp. *Blanche* l. c.

§ 50 ss. the doctrine of the natural corruption of mankind is discussed with all the seriousness appropriate to this subject. Concerning *Oetinger's* views of the nature of evil, see *Dorner*, *Christologie*, p. 310. 311. *Swedenborg* departed from the ecclesiastical doctrine, inasmuch as he did not believe in original sin, properly speaking, but represented man as a free agent, who is placed between heaven and earth, and exposed to the influence of good and evil spirits. But man derives from God all the good which he possesses. Comp. *Göttliche Offenbarung* ii. p. 147 ss. *Himmel und Hölle*, No. 589–596. and 597–603. Among modern theologians, *Tholuck* first gave a more orthodox definition of sin in his work: *die Lehre von der Sünde und vom Versöhner, oder die wahre Weihe des Zweiflers*, Hamb. 1823. 5th edit. 1836. Comp. *Steudel*, *Korn*, and *Klaiber* (See *Bretschneider* p. 530.)

(7) These modifications chiefly consist in a renunciation of the strictly historical interpretation of the fall, which is also abandoned by *Tholuck* (*die Lehre von der Sünde* etc. Append 3.)^a and the want of more precise definitions concerning the *justitia originalis*. Respecting the latter, *Schleiermacher* (*christliche Glaubenslehre* i. p. 336.) gives it as his opinion, that the idea of *justitia originalis* cannot be demonstrated didactically. On the other hand he maintains (l. c. vol. i. p. 412 ss.) the original depravity, and entire inability, of every man to perform virtuous actions; this inability can cease only in connection with the work of redemption. *De Wette* asserted that the representations of (orthodox) Protestant writers were founded upon exaggerated views, and defended them in opposition to the superficial theories of the Rationalists; see *Dogmatik* § 56. Comp. *Hase Dogmatik* p. 102. 3.

(8) *Müller, Julius*, *die christliche Lehre von der Sünde* vol. i. New edit. Bresl. 1844. vol. ii. *ibid.* 1844. Comp. with it, *G. Ritter*, *über das Böse* etc. (*theologische Mitarbeiten*, ii. part 4.) Breslau 1839.

^a *Reinhard* advocated the historical reality of the fall, but thought the forbidden fruit *venomous*, on which account it caused the death of our first parents. *Dogmatik* (3d edit.) p. 273.

§ 296.

CHRISTOLOGY.

Dorner, über die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Christologie, besonders in neuern Zeiten, Tubinger Zeitschrift 1835. part 4. p. 81 ss. Entwicklungsgeschichte der Lehre von der Person Christi, p. 250 ss.

The more the doctrine of the natural depravity of mankind was lost sight of, and the nature of man elevated, the more the specific difference between Jesus of Nazareth and the rest of mankind disappeared. Thus Socinianism and Ebionitism were re-introduced into the church, along with the Pelagian tendencies of the so-called period of enlightenment.⁽¹⁾ But it was still interesting to consider the human nature of Christ, *i. e.*, his character as a historical person, which was differently represented by different writers.⁽²⁾ This led to a new historical estimate of his life, which was best adapted to prepare the way for a revival of the orthodox doctrine of Christ's divine nature.⁽³⁾ The definitions of *Kant* gave rise to an arbitrary distinction between an ideal, and a historical Christ.⁽⁴⁾ Only a small number of pious men (to which belonged some of the most eminent writers of the present period) retained the doctrine of Christ's divinity, with all the ardour of fervent love, amidst a gainsaying generation.⁽⁵⁾ Some, *e. g.*, *Emmanuel Swedenborg*, even went so far as to adopt enthusiastic and heretical notions.⁽⁶⁾ The Rationalists declared their belief in the historical Christ (the man Jesus) to be founded upon the critical interpretation of the accounts given by the evangelists (especially by the authors of the so-called synoptical gospels.) They differed most distinctly from the anti-

christian Deists, in admitting that the founder of the Christian Church must have been possessed of the highest moral perfection, without asserting the doctrine of the absolute sinlessness of Christ. The better part of the Rationalists did not deny that Christ possessed miraculous powers and mysterious attributes with the view of detracting from his honour, but in order to render him more accessible to men, to make his doctrine more intelligible, and his example more profitable.⁽⁷⁾ On the other hand, the adherents of speculative philosophy exerted themselves to the utmost for the defence of the *idea* of an incarnate God (which had been rejected by the Rationalists), or of the unity of the divine with the human; they thus exposed themselves to the danger of renouncing the historical appearance of Christ, or of converting his history into mere myths.⁽⁸⁾ The advocates of modern theology consider it their task to show, that the divine and the human natures of Christ (the ideal and the historical), are most intimately connected with each other. Though they widely differ from each other in reference to particular points, as well as regarding the modes of argumentation which they use,⁽⁹⁾ they all agree in admitting that the received ecclesiastical terms of person and nature are no longer sufficient to express the relation in which the two natures of Christ stand to each other.⁽¹⁰⁾ It is also now generally acknowledged, that it is only after more profound philosophical and historical investigations, that theologians may expect both to convince thinking minds of the idea of a God-man, who is separated from sinful men by his sinlessness, and to prove, with the highest degree of historical evidence, its realization in the person of Jesus of Nazareth.

(1) *Dorner*, Christologie p. 255.

(2) The phrase, "*Jesus of Nazareth was a mere man,*" can be very differently interpreted; there is a considerable distance between an impostor and an enthusiast, between the latter and an extraordinary messenger of God, prophet, performer of miracles, and lastly the son of man who after his resurrection was elevated to heaven. All these names have been applied to Christ (in an inverse order) from the period of Socinianism down to the publication of the "*Wolfenbüttler Fragmente,*" and the "*Natürliche Geschichte des Propheten von Nazareth,*" Kopenhagen 1800.

(3) The historical consideration of the personal character of Christ, and the application of those principles to the history of his *life*, which are used in the case of every other man, were subservient to the advancement of truth; for the ecclesiastical doctrine of the *true humanity* of the Redeemer must lose its significance without what might be called the *human* treatment of his history. In this respect *Herder* has distinguished himself above all other writers. Comp. his "*Christliche Schriften,*" and the passages quoted in his "*Dogmatik,*" p. 134 ss. 190 ss. 212 ss.

(4) In connection with his doctrine of original evil *Kant* maintained the restoration of man by means of his liberty. To attain unto this end man stands in need of an ideal, viz. a human ideal which is presented to him in the Scriptural doctrine concerning Christ (the personified idea of the good principle.) The idea has its seat in our reason; for the practical purposes of an example being given, &c. a character is sufficient which resembles the idea as much as possible. It is not necessary to suppose a supernatural generation, though it cannot be absolutely denied that such may take place; see *Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft* p. 67 ss. and comp. p. 183. and *Dorner* l. c., p. 258 ss.

(5) *Zinzendorf* and the Society of the United Brethren. *Spangenberg*, *Idea fidei frat.* § 63–84. *Bengel* (comp. *Burk*, p. 353 ss. p. 541.) *Oetinger* (comp. *Dorner* l. c. p. 305 ss.) *Haller*, *Gellert*, *J. C. Lavater*, *Hamann* (*Dorner* p. 305.) *Stilling*, *Claudius*, *Klopstock*, *Novalis* (*Dorner* p. 323 ss.) Respecting *Lavater* see the biographical works composed by *Herbst*, *Gessner*, and others. *Hegner* (*Beiträge* Lpz. 1836.) p. 260 ss. "My gray hair shall not descend into the grave, until I have addressed these words to some of the elect: *he is more certain than I am* (*Handibbel* 1791.) *The divinity of Christ, this supreme power*

in heaven and on earth, was in all its aspects the only theme which he everywhere announced, taught in his writings, and treated at full length." Hegner p. 267. Comp. on the other hand the remarkable letters of Göthe addressed to Lavater in the year 1781. p. 140-41.

(6) The christology of Swedenborg bears close resemblance to that of Schwenckfeld. Jesus is born of the Holy Ghost and of Mary. Inasmuch as his divine nature is the divine nature of the Father, his body possessed also a divine nature. That which was human was converted into the divine by sufferings and temptations. The human which he had received from Mary, is gradually laid aside, and the heavenly divine body substituted for it. It is the divine body which he took with him to heaven. (Comp. his views concerning the Trinity § 292. Dorner p. 208. note.)

(7) *Röhr*, Briefe über den Rationalismus xi., und christo-logische Predigten, Weimar 1831. *Wegscheider*, Institutiones § 123. 128. *Paulus*, das Leben Jesu.—Dorner l. c. p. 278-79. (The Rationalists speak only of a doctrina Christi; but not a doctrina de Christo.) On the controversy respecting the adoration of Christ which was carried on in Magdeburg in the year 1840, see Hase, Kirchengeschichte p. 528.

(8) The origin of the speculative views of Christ's nature may be traced to the works of Spinoza; see Strauss ii. p. 199. *Fichte*, (Anweisung zum seligen Leben p. 166 ss.) makes a distinction between the absolute and the empirical point of view. From the absolute point of view the eternal word becomes at all times flesh in the same manner in which it became flesh in Christ, and manifests itself to every man who has a full and clear perception of his unity with God. *Fichte*, indeed, admits that the knowledge of the absolute unity of the human existence with the divine (the profoundest knowledge to which man can attain) had not existed previous to the time of Christ; but he also imagines that philosophers may not only discover those truths independently of Christianity, but also take a more comprehensive and clearer view of them than those to whom they have been transmitted by Christianity. On the one hand he professes to believe (p. 172) that all truly rational men will, to the end of time, render profound homage to this Jesus of Nazareth, and acknowledge the incomparable excellency of this highly exalted person with the

greater humility the more they know themselves ; though he also thinks (p. 173) that if Jesus were to return to our world, he would rest satisfied with finding Christianity established in the minds of men, without claiming adoration for himself. But on the other hand (p. 173), he maintains that it is the *metaphysical* alone, and not the *historical* which will save a man. “ If any one be truly united with God, it is *altogether indifferent* in what manner he has attained unto this state, and it would be a most useless and perverse occupation to waste much time in the recollection of the manner, instead of enjoying that union itself.”—*Schelling*, *Methode des akademischen Studiums* p. 175 : The highest sense for religion which expressed itself in Christian mysticism, regarded the mystery of nature, and that of *the incarnation of God*, as identical.” Ibid. p. 192 : Theologians interpret the incarnation of God in Christ empirically, as if God had assumed the nature of man at a certain moment of time. But it is impossible to attach any meaning to this idea, inasmuch as God exists from eternity apart from all time. Hence the incarnation of God is an *incarnation from eternity*. The man Christ forms in his historical appearance only the crown, and therefore also the beginning of that incarnation ; for beginning with him, it was so to be continued that all his followers should be members of one and the same body of which he is the head. History testifies that God has truly manifested himself *first* in Christ ; for who that preceded him could pretend to have revealed the infinite in such a manner ?” On the other hand comp. p. 194–95, where he maintains that the numerous incarnations in which the Indians believe are more rational than the single incarnation of God taught by Christian missionaries, and p. 206 ; “ Whether the writings of the New Testament are genuine or not, whether the narratives contained in them are real and unadulterated facts, and whether their contents are in accordance with the idea of Christianity, or not, cannot affect the reality of that idea, inasmuch as it does not depend on *this single phenomenon* (*i. e.* the existence of Christianity), but is universal and absolute.” For further particulars comp. Dorner p. 339 ss.—*Blasche* (über das Böse p. 300.) regards the matter rather from the historical point of view :.....Christ is the representative of the perfection to which the historical work of redemption had attained. The in-

carnation of God was completed in him. He has, therefore, the significance of a *personal moral creator of the world* (p. 301.) He was the highest production of the universal moral creation in the history of the world; this higher creation has become personified particularly in him (p. 303.) Concerning the christological views of Hegel (*Religions Philosophie* vol. ii. p. 204 ss. especially p. 233–256.) see Dorner l. c. p. 397 ss. and his remarks respecting them p. 406 ss. According to Dorner it is difficult to decide whether the historical Christ (in the system of Hegel) possesses any peculiar dignity,^a or whether Hegel does not believe in the unity of the Divine with the human in the person of Christ, merely as a means of comprehending it in himself? (Dorner p. 414.) The adherents of the two schools of Hegel differ in their views concerning the nature of Christ. Some (such as *Marheinecke*, *Rosenkranz*, and *Conradi*, see Dorner p. 366 ss.) endeavour to unite the *historical Christ* with the *ideal*. Others do not consider him so much a purely mythical person, as the more accidental representative of a certain idea; this idea gave rise to the developement of a body of myths, which were thrown around the name and person of Jesus. Thus *Strauss*, in his *Leben Jesu*, and in his *Dogmatik* ii. p. 209 ss.^b

⁽⁹⁾ *De Wette* (comp. Dorner p. 281 ss.) is not to be confounded with those who, rejecting the historical, attach importance only to the idea. On the contrary, he regards the *historical Christ* as the realized idea. He combats the mythico-speculative theory in decided terms, *Religion und Theologie* p. 184. He was also the first who again treated Christian ethics (which orthodox theologians had been accustomed to discuss in the most abstract manner), on the foundation of the person of Christ; comp. his *Lehrbuch der christlichen Sittenlehre* § 41 ss. § 53. See also his *Vor-*

^a Hegel rejected the rationalistic theory p. 240: "If we regard Christ in the same light as Socrates, we regard him as a mere man, like the Mohammedans who consider Christ to have been a messenger of God, in that more comprehensive sense in which all great men may be called ambassadors or messengers of God. If we merely say that Christ was a teacher of mankind, and a martyr for truth, we express ourselves neither from the Christian point of view, nor from that of true religion."—But compare what follows.

^b However much *Jacobi* differed from the speculative philosophers on theological points, he was equally indifferent as to the historical person of the Redeemer, and rested satisfied with subjective religious feelings while they contented themselves with the speculative idea. See the words addressed to Claudius, in the introduction to this treatise: *Von den göttlichen Dingen* (reprinted in *Strauss*, *Dogmatik* ii. p. 203.)

lesungen über die Religion, Vorlesung 18: "All the rays of truth which had come forth from among men, are united in Christ, the light of the world. All the knowledge of the true and the good previous to his time is only a presentiment of that which he has revealed." Ibid. p. 444: The *personal character*, life, and death of Christ, and belief in him, form the *centre of Christianity*. The spirit of religion was personified in him, and proceeding from him, exerted an influence upon the world which stood in need of a new religious life, in order to regenerate it." Comp. his Kirchliche Dogmatik § 66. Religion und Theologie p. 115 ss. Vorwort zum Commentar des Matthæus (1. edit. p. vii.), and the last chapter of his historical review of the narratives of the gospels; the latter two are written in opposition to Strauss. *Schleiermacher* has treated this doctrine on more dialectic grounds, and thus "exerted more influence than any other modern theologian upon his contemporaries." (Dorner p. 488 ss.) But, at the same time, he has given rise to new doubts (Strauss, Dogmatik ii. p. 180 ss.) Compare his Weihnachtsfeier; der christliche Glaube ii. § 92-105. Reden über die Religion, 1829. Sendschreiben an Lücke (Studien und Kritiken, 1829. parts 2. and 3.), several sermons, and the representations of his system given by Dorner and Strauss l. c. *Schleiermacher* (like de Wette) differs from the adherents of the speculative school in rejecting the notion of an *ideal* Christ apart from the *historical* Christ. The historical and the ideal (he substituted these terms for those of human and divine nature) are, in his opinion, united in Christ. The ideal does not consist in skill and dexterity in particular departments of life, but in the purity and vigour of the innate consciousness of God. *Schleiermacher* rests faith in the divine authority of Christ on the idea of his sinlessness, and in connection with it, on the impossibility of his having erred. The church, as well as every believer, possesses the consciousness of these qualities. Christ has come into existence (viz., in his human nature) without sin. This generation does not necessarily exclude the idea of participation on the part of man, but is to be regarded as a supernatural event, which does not stand in connection with the sinful, or as a new creation. In opposition to *Strauss*, who asserts that the divine love could not have bestowed all its favours upon *one* individual, *Ullmann*, *Schweizer*, and

others, have returned to the *religious* point of view, upon which Schleiermacher proceeded. Others have endeavoured, on speculative grounds, to determine the relation of the individual to the genus, and thus revived the old scholastic controversy (concerning Nominalism and Realism.) *Hase* agrees with Schleiermacher in maintaining (in opposition to the orthodox ecclesiastical, as well as the historical theory), that the divine nature of Christ consists in his blameless piety (Dogmatik p. 286. 287.), and connects with this the idea, that, after the example of Christ, every son of man, as much as depends on his own exertions, ought to develope himself to a son of God, and every man to a God-man. Comp. *Dorner*, p. 289 ss.

(¹⁰) The orthodox doctrine of the church has again been defended in modern times ; see *Steffens*, von der falschen Theologie p. 127. *Sartorius*, die Lehre von Christi Person und Werk, Hamb. 1831. 34.

Menken (Homilien über das 9. und 10. Capitel des Briefs und die Hebräer, Bremen 1831.) and *Irving* (the human nature of Christ) revived the controversy, whether Christ assumed the human nature as it existed *prior*, or as its existed *posterior* to the fall? *Menken* and *Irving* maintained the latter. *Irving* was, on account of this assertion, excluded from the Scotch National Church. The subject in question also gave rise to discussions among the theologians belonging to the evangelical school of Geneva. See *Dorner*, Appendix p. 530 ss. *Baur*, Versöhnungslehre p. 664. and *Preiswerk*, Lettre adressée à MM. les membres du Comité de la Société évangélique de Genève, 1837 (German and French); Evangelische Kirchenzeitung xxi. p. 433 ss.

§ 297.

THE DOCTRINE OF ATONEMENT.

Baur, Lehre von der Versöhnung, p. 478 ss.

After the Pietists had, during the preceding period, lowered the juridical idea of satisfaction, the doctrine of atonement was now represented by *Zinzendorf* in its mere internal connection with the Christian life, as the essence of Christianity. At the same time he gave it a more sensuous aspect than it had, either in the theory of *Anselm*, or in the theological system of the Old Lu-

therans, but which was implied in the phraseology of the mystics.⁽¹⁾ On the contrary, *Conrad Dippel* and *Swedenborg* rejected, on mystical grounds, the ecclesiastical doctrine of satisfaction altogether.⁽²⁾ It was also attacked by the Rationalists. After *Töllner* had called forth a spirit of inquiry, by combating the received doctrine of the active obedience of Christ (in opposition to *W. F. Walch*),⁽³⁾ the entire host of those who advocated the enlightened views of the age, opposed that doctrine as unprofitable and dangerous to true morality.⁽⁴⁾ Other theologians undertook its defence, some holding more, others less rigid opinions concerning it.⁽⁵⁾ *Kant*, in connection with his doctrine concerning original evil, pointed out the necessity of a restoration of the human nature, but assigned only a symbolico-moral significance to the death of Christ.⁽⁶⁾ The Rationalists treated the subject from a more negative point of view than *Kant*, by losing sight of the symbolical in the merely moral.⁽⁷⁾ On the other hand, *De Wette* brought the symbolical more prominently forward.⁽⁸⁾ *Schleiermacher* connected the doctrine of the vicarious sufferings and perfect obedience of Christ, with his sinlessness and the doctrine of his priestly office, but separated between the vicarious and that which makes satisfaction, so as to represent Christ's sufferings as vicarious, but without making satisfaction, and his obedience as making satisfaction, but not as vicarious.⁽⁹⁾ The adherents of the speculative school regarded the death of the God-man as the cessation of the being another [Germ. *Aufheben des Andersseins*], and the necessary return of the finite life of God into the sphere of the infinite.⁽¹⁰⁾ Some of the strict Supranaturalists also found fault with the theory of *Anselm*, and endeavoured to substitute for it another scheme, which they thought more in accordance with the doctrine of Scripture.⁽¹¹⁾ But other theologians

espoused the cause of Anselm, and so far from rejecting his doctrine as useless, sought to develop it in the same spirit.⁽¹²⁾

⁽¹⁾ Comp. § 277. In opposition to Zinzendorf, *Bengel* l. c. p. 81 ss. p. 89. expressed himself as follows: "The United Brethren attach almost exclusive importance to imagination, and care little about the real meaning. p. 90: Therefore they do not cease to talk of blood, wounds, the prints of the nails, the holes in his side, the smell of his corpse, etc., and frequently use the word lamb in an improper manner. Such notions of scourges, the cross, etc., are calculated to produce an impression upon the natural senses and affections, especially in the case of the illiterate, but they constitute neither the whole thing, nor its principal part. p. 123: He who knows the nature of the human mind, cannot approve of the conduct of those who, in their thoughts and discourses, select one single article from among the whole treasure of wholesome doctrine, upon which they constantly dwell, and expect others to do the same. This leads to a vain and insipid talk. By means of arbitrary, forced, and exaggerated meditations upon the blood of Christ, they would fain descend into the depths of his nature.".....

⁽²⁾ *Dippel* agreed with the mystics in regarding the internal life of Christ as the redeeming principle, in opposition to those who laid principal stress upon his external sufferings. In his opinion, the death of Christ is a type of that death which our old man must suffer. Christ did not deliver us from tribulations, but taught us how to bear them, inasmuch as they serve to turn our mind from the earthly. Comp. *Walch*, *Einleitung*, in die *Religionsstreitigkeiten* ii. p. 718 ss. v. p. 998 ss. *Baur*, l. c. p. 473 ss. Concerning the relation in which this doctrine stands to that of the Socinians, see also *Baur* l. c. According to *Swedenborg*, Christ's sufferings on the cross were the last temptation which he had to resist, in order to obtain the victory over the kingdom of Satan (*i. e.*, hell); his human nature was, at the same time, glorified by these sufferings, *i. e.*, united with the divine nature of the Father. See *Göttliche Offenbarung* i. p. 36 ss. and other passages.

⁽³⁾ Comp. *Walch*, *Ch. G. F.*, de obedientia Christi activa com-

mentatio, Gött. 1755. *Töllner, J. G.*, der thätige Gehorsam Jesu Christi, Bresl. 1768.; this treatise is to be compared with his *Vermischte Aufsätze* ii. 2. p. 273., in which he defends the orthodox doctrine of Christ's *passive* obedience, and its practical utility, in opposition to Taylor and the Socinians. Comp. Baur p. 478 ss., and *Ernesti*, in der neuen theologischen Bibliothek vol. ix. p. 914 ss. He also thinks that the distinction between *obedientia activa et passiva*, which is only calculated to produce confusion, ought to be given up, but "*people do not like to tune an instrument in a different key, lest the strings should break.*" He therefore undertakes to defend the doctrine in question (p. 492.) For further particulars see Baur p. 504.

⁽⁴⁾ *Steinbart, Eberhardt, Bahrdt, Henke, Löffler*, and others, quoted by Baur p. 505-530.

⁽⁵⁾ Among the advocates of the scriptural doctrine of redemption (but not of the theory of Anselm), *Herder* takes the most prominent place as regards truly spiritual views. (See his: *Erläuterungen zum Neuen Testament*, p. 51-56. and: *Von Religion, Lehrmeinungen und Gebräuchen*, Abhandlung 7. Comp. also: *Dogmatik* p. 212 ss.) *Herder* endeavoured especially to maintain the religious aspect of this doctrine instead of the juridical; on the contrary, several modern advocates of the latter theory (*e. g. Michaëlis, Storr*, and partly also *Seiler*) adhered to the idea of *Grotius*, that the design of Christ's death was to set before us an example of punishment (comp. § 267. note 9.), with which they also connected some other notions. Thus *Storr* supposed that the death of Christ had exerted a reacting influence upon himself, by elevating him to a higher state of moral perfection. (*Von dem Zweck des Todes Jesu*, p. 664. quoted by Baur p. 544 ss.) *Doederlein, Morus, Knapp, Schwarze*, and *Reinhard*^a) regarded the death of Jesus as a solemn declaration

^a All the various designs of Christ's death are surveyed in their connection by *Reinhard* with logical precision, § 107. He admits that this doctrine is corrupted by numerous false additions, by which *thinking men* could easily be induced to regard it with a suspicious eye; hence he does not approve of that opinion according to which the wrath of God against sinful men rendered such a sacrifice necessary, and was, as it were, *only appeased by the blood of Christ*. He also rejects all the other ideas connected with the ecclesiastical doctrine, and lastly advances himself the idea that the death of Christ was a *solemn declaration* that God will be merciful to sinners. "God thus appears as a *loving father*, who is willing to grant pardon to sinners, but also as a *just and prudent father*, who, far from exhibiting any unseasonable and improper tenderness, will implant

on the part of God, by which he confirmed his willingness to pardon the sins of man. Generally speaking, these Supranaturalists did not strictly adhere to the definitions of the symbolical books, and only admitted that which they thought could be proved by the plain words of Scripture. Nevertheless they did not wholly reject the theory of accommodation (and applied it especially to God.) See Baur p. 547 ss.

(⁶) Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft p. 87 ss. In the opinion of Kant, man must, after all, deliver himself. A substitution, in the proper sense of that word, cannot take place. It is impossible that liabilities should be transmissible, like debts (p. 88.) Neither does the amendment of our life pay off former debts. Thus man would have to expect an infinite punishment on account of the infinite guilt which he has contracted. Nevertheless the forgiveness of sin is possible. For inasmuch as, in consequence of the contrast existing between moral perfection and external happiness, he who amends his conduct has to undergo the same sufferings as he who perseveres in his evil course, and the *former* bears those sufferings with a dignified mind, on account of good, he willingly submits to them as the punishment due to his former sins. In a physical aspect he continues the same man, but, in a moral aspect, he has become a new man; thus the latter suffers in the room of the former. But that which takes place in man himself, as an internal act, is manifested in the person of Christ (the Son of God) in a visible manner, as the personified idea; that which the new man takes upon himself, while the old man is dying, is set forth in the representative of mankind as that death which he suffered once for all (comp. p. 89 ss.) Nor can, in the opinion of Kant, any external expiation (not even that of the Son of God as our ideal representative) supply the want of our self improvement (p. 96. and 163.) Concerning those theologians who adopted the principles of Kant, such as Tieftrunk (Süsskind), Stäudlin, Ammon, and others, see Baur l. c. The theory of Kant was modified by *Krug* in his: *Der Widerstreit der Vernunft mit sich selbst, in der Versöhnungslehre dargestellt und aufgelöst*, Züllichau 1802.

in the minds of his children whom he has pardoned, a most vivid aversion to their former sins, and teach them, by an example, the dreadful consequences by which the violation of his laws is accompanied, and the misery which they themselves have deserved."

(gesammelte Schriften, i. Abtheilung, theologische Schriften Vol. i. 1830. p. 295 ss.) see Baur p. 589 ss.

(7) *Wegscheider* P. iii. c. ii. § 142. reduces the design of Christ's death to this : Per religionis doctrinam a Christo propositam et ipsius morte sancitam hominibus, dummodo illius præceptis omni, quo par est, studio obsequantur, veram monstrari viam et rationem, qua, repudiatis quibusvis sacrificiis aliisque cærimoniis placandi numinis divina caussa institutis, vero Dei ejusque præceptorum amore ducti Deo probari possint. *Attamen* (continnes he) *ne* animis fortioribus bene consulendo *imbecilliores offendamus*, sententiam de morte Jesu Christi expiatoria, ipsorum scriptorum ss. exemplo, *etiam symbolica quadam ratione* adumbrare licebit, ita ut mors Christi proponatur vel tamquam symbolum, quo sacrificia qualiacunque sublata sint, ac reconciliatio hominis cum Deo significata et venia peccatorum cuivis vere emendato solemnî ritu confirmata, etc. He uses very strong language in opposition to the ecclesiastical doctrine (which he misrepresents) : Omnino vero doctores caveant, ne conscientiæ improborum, imprimis morti propinquorum, quasi veterum obducant nimium jactando vim sanguinis Christi expiatoriam, quo Deus Molochi instar, piaculi innocentis quippe sanguinem sitientis, placatus sistatur. On the rationalistic-supranaturalistic theory of Schott and Bretschneider, comp. Baur p. 608 ss.

(8) In his *Commentatio de morte Christi expiatoria*, Berol. 1813 (reprinted in his *Opuscula*, Berol. 1830.) The views propounded in that treatise are completed and corrected in the later writings of De Wette (comp. the preface to his *Opuscula*.) *Religion und Theologie* p. 253 : "We do not think, like many modern theologians, that the doctrine of atonement is a useless or even pernicious remnant of Judaism in Christianity..... ..we regard it (in its internal aspect) as a *religious symbol* which exerts the most beneficial influence upon the *pious mind*. The consciousness of guilt is the religious sentiment of submission by which we are induced to humble ourselves before God, and through which we obtain peace. As all ideas have their historical and personal manifestation in Christ, so the idea of redemption, which surpasses all others, in order that the entire life of mankind might be reflected in him.....In the death of Christ, which is the greatest proof of his love, we comprehend both the

magnitude of our depravity, and the victory over it. Comp. his *Dogmatik* § 73. a and b. The symbolical interpretation of Christ's death adopted by De Wette differs from that of Kant (and Wegscheider), in addressing itself to the *feelings* of man, and thus making the appropriation of that event a necessary act on the part of every one, inasmuch as religion itself has its origin in those feelings. On the other hand, Kant regarded the death of Christ as a symbol designed to assist the understanding (as a kind of aid for those who stand in need of symbolical representations of abstract ideas.)

(9) According to *Schleiermacher*, the redeeming and atoning principle is not the single fact that Christ died, but a vital union with him. (In this union he perceives something mystical, which he distinguishes from the magical as well as the empirical, and to which he assigns an intermediate place.) By means of *this vital union* we appropriate to ourselves Christ's righteousness (his obedience unto death);^a this appropriation, however, is not to be confounded with the more external theory of vicarious satisfaction. But inasmuch as he represents the totality of believers; he may be called rather our *satisfaction-making substitute*. Comp. *christlicher Glaube* ii. p. 103 ss. p. 128 ss. Baur 614 ss. In opposition to *Schleiermacher* *Steudel* defended the orthodox doctrine, see Baur p. 642. *Nitzsch*, following *Schleiermacher*, endeavoured (*System der christlichen Lehre* p. 238-48.) to assign a more definite significance to Christ's passive obedience, which, in the opinion of *Schleiermacher*, is only the crown of the active obedience. A distinction was also made between reconciliation and expiation (*καταλλαγή* and *ἰλασμός*.)

(10) *Fichte*, *Anweisung zum seligen Leben*, especially the fifth Lecture p. 124 ss. the ninth and tenth p. 251 ss. Baur p. 692 ss. *Schelling*, *Methode des akademischen Studiums* § 296. note 8.) Comp. *Blasche*, *das Böse*, etc. p. 304 ss. *Hegel*, *Religionsphilosophie* Vol. ii. p. 246 ss. p. 249: "God is dead—this is the most dreadful idea, that all that is eternal, all that is true, is no more—that the negation itself is in God; the highest sorrow, the consciousness of perfect inability to help oneself, the loss of all that is above the lower order of things, is connected

^a *Schleiermacher* rejected the phrase that Christ has fulfilled the *law*; in his opinion he only fulfilled the *Divine will*, p. 134. 36.

with this idea. But the process does not stop here ; on the contrary, a change takes place, viz. God preserves himself in this process, which thus becomes *the death of death*. God rises again to life, and thus turns to the opposite.".....p. 251 : " It is a proof of his infinite love that God has identified himself with that which is foreign to his nature, in order to destroy it. This is the import of Christ's death." p. 253 : " The phrase : God himself is dead, occurs in a Lutheran hymn ; this means, that the human, the finite, the frail, the negative, is itself a divine principle existing in God himself ; that the Being-Another [Germ. *das Andersein*], the finite, the negative is not without God, does not prevent the unity with God, etc. Comp. Baur l. c. p. 712 ss. and his *Christliche gnosis* p. 671 ss. *Daub*, *Theologumena* (quoted by Baur p. 696 ss.) : " The world cannot by itself render satisfaction to God ; God alone possesses a nature which can make satisfaction, or reconcile. As God who renders satisfaction to God, he is the Son, as he to whom satisfaction is made, the Father ; but both are in and for themselves One ; the atonement forms by itself a part of the nature of God, and is as eternal as the creation and preservation. God from eternity sacrifices himself for the world ; or God the Father commands that God the Son shall sacrifice himself for him, and make satisfaction to him. Accordingly, inasmuch as God making satisfaction places himself in the room of the world, this satisfaction is vicarious, and active as well as passive. God making reconciliation elevates the world to absolute necessity, and is thus at the same time its creator and preserver, or the cause of its absolute reality and liberty." *Marheinecke*, *Dogmatik* § 227-247. (quoted by Baur p. 718 ss.) : " By the reconciliation of the world with God through God, we understand that the Divine Being which is united with himself and with the world, makes the transition through the corruption of the world, and destroys it. God is at the same time he who is from eternity sufficient to himself, and he who from eternity makes satisfaction to himself. But God can make satisfaction only as Godman, in whom reconciliation is possible, inasmuch as his human nature does not essentially differ from the Divine. The satisfaction made by the Godman is vicarious, since he, in making reconciliation, represents the world. This implies a twofold definition ; first, that the world, in its

state of corruption, cannot make satisfaction to God; and, secondly, that the world, in its truth and reality as human nature, or in its true and holy principle, is represented by the person of the One man who is the representative of all men, and thus the universal man, though he be but one individual." *Usteri*, paulinischer Lehrbegriff p. 133: "The incarnation of the Son of God, who is begotten of the first cause of all things (the Father), is the reconciliation of the finite with the infinite, the created with the first cause of existence, the temporal with the eternal. The incarnate Son of God, by his death, returns from the sphere of the finite, created, and temporal, to that of the infinite, uncreated, and eternal, as the spirit which is now reigning in the finite, and uniting it with God."

(¹¹) *Klaiber* (quoted by Baur, p. 648), and especially *Hasenkamp* (both the father and the son), *Menken* (a pastor in Bremen), and *Rudolph Stier*. All these agreed in rejecting the idea of a conflict between the love and justice of God (*Hasenkamp* and *Menken*, in particular, expressed themselves in violent language), and in regarding the divine love as the true principle of redemption, but differed on some minor points (*e. g.*, *Stier* retains the idea of the divine wrath.) For further particulars see Baur, p. 656 ss., where the literature is also given.

(¹²) To this class belong the author of an essay published in the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, 1834; *Geschichtliches aus der Veröhnungs- und Genugthuungslehre*, see Baur p. 672 ss., and *Göschel* (*Zerstraute Blätter aus den Hand- und Hülfakten eines Juristen*, etc.); the latter especially defended the juridical aspect of the doctrine in question, which had given offence to many others. Comp. *Tholucks literarischer Anzeiger*, 1833, p. 69 ss. *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* 1834, p. 14. Baur, p. 682 ss.

The doctrine of the *decensus ad inferos* was agreeable neither to the views of the Rationalists, nor to those of modern Supranaturalists. The adherents of speculative philosophy regarded it as a mere symbolical expression, to indicate that, even in the most corrupted souls, there is still one entrance for the gospel of Christ.

Compare the passages from the works of Reinhard, De Wette, and Marheinecke, collected by *Hase*, *Dogmatik* p. 344. The doctrine of the three offices of Christ was combated by *Ernesti*, in his *Opuscula theologica* p. 411 ss. Modern theologians (such as Schleiermacher) have revived it.

§ 298.

THE ECONOMY OF REDEMPTION. JUSTIFICATION AND
SANCTIFICATION (FAITH AND GOOD WORKS.) GRACE
AND LIBERTY. PREDESTINATION.

The orthodox view of the doctrine of atonement having been abandoned, the juridical idea of justification, as distinctly separated from that of sanctification, also lost its significance, and Protestant theologians manifested a strong leaning towards the Roman Catholic doctrines, in regarding the one, as well as the other, as different aspects of one and the same divine act.⁽¹⁾

Kant claimed for man the power of amending his conduct by his own efforts, notwithstanding his theory of original evil,⁽²⁾ but rejected, in accordance with the essential principles of Protestantism, every species of external and legal holiness of works, and the notion of merit to which it gives rise.⁽³⁾ He also pointed out the importance of *faith*, but made a distinction between the statutory (historical) faith in the doctrines of the church, and the faith of religion (*i. e.*, reason), and ascribed only to the latter an influence upon morality.⁽⁴⁾

This same was the case with the Rationalists in general, who have sometimes been unjustly charged with giving countenance to the Roman Catholic doctrine of supererogation in connection with their Pelagian tendency.⁽⁵⁾ The Pietists and Methodists retained the strict views of Augustine, though with various modifications.⁽⁶⁾ The adherents of modern theology either used the idea of liberty in the sense of Augustine rather than in that of Pelagius, or endeavoured, from a higher point of view, to bring about a reconciliation between the two

systems.⁽⁷⁾ Thus the doctrine of *predestination*,⁽⁸⁾ propounded by Augustine, and after him by Calvin, which *Herder* had sought to bring into disrepute,⁽⁹⁾ was acutely defended by *Schleiermacher*, who endeavoured to remove all that is offensive in that theory.⁽¹⁰⁾ On the other hand, the advocates of its more rigid aspect were led to pass a harsh and condemnatory sentence upon their opponents.⁽¹¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ *Henke* maintained that it is indifferent whether the emendatio precedes, or the pacatio animi, *Lineamenta* cxxiii. But this could not satisfy thinking minds. More profound investigations contributed to bring about the union referred to. *Schleiermacher*, christliche Glaubenslehre, voll. ii. p. 109. 110. *Marheinecke*, Dogmatik p. 301.: "The idea of justification must be defined in accordance with the spirit of Christian religion, as the unity of the forgiveness of sin and the communication of love." Comp. also *Menken* and *Hahn* (quoted by *Möhler*, Symbolik p. 151. in reference to the fides formata.) *Hase*, Dogmatik p. 419-21. In modern times, however, the economy of redemption propounded by earlier theologians has again been defended (in opposition to the Roman Catholic doctrine) in order to prevent its being refined away. See the work of *Baur* in opposition to *Möhler* p. 235 ss.

⁽²⁾ In his *Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*, p. 45.: That which man is in a moral aspect, *depends on his own exertions*. It must be the effect of his own free will, for otherwise it could not be imputed to him; accordingly, he could neither be morally good, nor morally bad, p. 46.: Notwithstanding the fall the command is given: we *must* amend our conduct, hence we must *be able* to do it.....At the same time it must be presupposed that the germ of good has remained in its original purity, that it could neither be destroyed nor corrupted; surely this germ cannot be self-love, etc., p. 53.: There is one thing in our soul which, if we attentively examine it, we cannot cease to consider with the highest admiration, an admiration which is not only legitimate, but also serves to elevate our souls. This one thing is the original moral faculty in man.....p. 58.: Ac-

ording to moral religion (an appellation which, of all the public forms of religion, can alone be applied to Christianity) it is a fundamental principle that every one must use all possible efforts to become a new man (Luke xix. 12–16.).” Comp. his *Lehre vom kategorischen Imperatio* (in der Kritik der praktischen Vernunft.)

(³) Ibid. p. 52. : “The moral culture of man must not commence with the *amendment of his conduct*, but with a *complete change of his mode of thinking*, and the establishment of his character.” (Comp. the distinction which he made between *legality* and *morality* ; Kritik der praktischen Vernunft, p. 106.)

(⁴) Ibid. p. 157 ss. Of course by religion he understands the religion of reason, to which historical faith must gradually elevate itself (p. 169.) Concerning the Divine grace (according to the principles of the Kantian philosophy) comp. Tieftrunk iii. p. 132 ss. concerning the effects of grace see p. 166 ss. *By saving faith* he understands (p. 204.), 1. That man does *himself* all he can in order to obtain salvation ; 2. That he leaves the *remaining part* to the wisdom of God.

(⁵) *Bengel* bitterly complained of the Pelagian tendencies of his age ; men become increasingly strangers to the effects of grace, and that to such an extent that Pelagius, if he could rise again in our day, would undoubtedly be dissatisfied with the present aspect of his system. See Burk p. 238. The Rationalists and the advocates of the prosaic tendency of the age took offence principally at *the supernatural effects of grace*. See *Spalding, J. J.*, über den Werth der Gefühle, 1764. *Junkheim, J. L. Z.*, von dem Uebernaturlichen in den Gnadenwirkungen. For further particulars see *Bretschneider*, Entwurf p. 667 ss. and comp. *Wegscheider*, § 152 ss. especially § 161. (de unione mystica.) The Rationalists acknowledge no other practical Christianity than that which manifests itself in external exertions, and for the most part misunderstand the true nature of Mysticism, the dynamic in the doctrine concerning faith and its internal effects. On the other hand the Christian Rationalists (in distinction from the Deists) always urge the importance of making our disposition the source of our actions, and reject the lifeless observance of the law ; see *Wegscheider* § 155. p. 542. ; in reference to the words of Luther :

“ Good and pious works never constitute a good and pious man, but a good and pious man performs good works ; the fruit does not bring forth the tree, but the tree brings forth fruit.” (Walch xix. p. 1222 ss.) Comp. Stäudlin, Dogmatik p. 417. and others, quoted by Hase, Dogmatik p. 419.

(6) The differences obtaining among them had, for the most part, reference to the conflict in the mind of the repenting sinner, to the questions whether grace may be lost or not, whether it is possible to attain moral perfection in this present life, to the unio mystica cum Deo, etc. Thus *Wesley* (1740) differed from the United Brethren in reference to the necessity of good works, and the various degrees of faith, see Southey (translated by Krummacher) i. p. 298 ss. *Wesley* and *Whitefield* separated from each other, because the former asserted the universality of grace, while the latter advocated the particularistic theory ; see *ibid.* p. 330 ss. The Pietists charged the United Brethren with a want of zeal in the work of sanctification. Bengel charged Zinzendorf with Antinomianism. Abriss der Brudergemeinde p. 128 ss. In opposition to the doctrine of spiritual union (as the United Brethren understood it) he expressed himself as follows, p. 145 : “ This doctrine has the appearance of the greatest spirituality, but in reality it offers richer food to the flesh than any man of the world, however powerful he may be, can obtain.” Comp. on the other side *Idea fidei fratrum* § 118. § 149. ss. § 169. ss. According to *Swedenborg* the imputation of the merit of Christ is a word without meaning, unless we understand by it the forgiveness of sin *after* repentance, for nothing belonging to the Lord can be *imputed* to man, but he (the Lord) can promise salvation after man has repented, *i. e.*, after he has perceived and acknowledged his sins, and if he afterwards, from love to the Lord, abstain from them. This condition being fulfilled, the promise of salvation is made to man in such a manner that man cannot be saved by his own merit or his own righteousness, but by the Lord who alone has fought with and overcome hell, etc. See *Göttliche Offenbarung* i. p. 47. *Ibid.* : “ There is a *Divine* faith, and a *human* faith ; those who repent possess Divine faith, but those who do not repent, nevertheless believe in imputation, possess human faith.”

(7) *De Wette* considered the subject in question in a twofold aspect, each of which may, in a certain sense, be called the right one (viz., the religious, and the ethical aspect, that of faith and that of reason), *Religion und Theologie* p. 242 ss. (comp. *Dogmatik* § 76 ss.) *Hegel* used the word liberty in a higher sense (in opposition to the liberty of choice), viz., as liberty which has its origin in the union with God, so that in one respect all is grace, in another all is liberty, the actions of God appear as ours, and vice versa: see *Philosophie der Religion* i. p. 157. *Hase*, *Hutterus redivivus* p. 274. For further particulars comp. *Schleiermacher*, *christliche Glaubenslehre* ii. § 86–93. § 106–112. *Nitzsch*, *System der christlichen Lehre* p. 138 ss.

(8) For a considerable time no controversy respecting this doctrine had been carried on. It was revived in the course of the eighteenth century by the work of *Joachim Lange*: *die evangelische Lehre von der allgemeinen Gnade*, Halle 1732. *J. J. Waldschmidt*, a pastor in Hesse, defended the Calvinistic doctrine in opposition to Lange, 1735. For the further progress of this controversy see *Schlegel*, *Kirchengeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* ii. 1. p. 304. *Von Einem* ii. p. 323.

(9) In his work: *Vom Geist des Christenthums*, p. 154. (*Dogmatik* p. 234.): “Fortunately our age has consigned to oblivion all these unscriptural and lifeless errors, as well as the entire controversy respecting the various gifts which was carried on in a most unchristian spirit, *and may that hand wither which shall ever bring it back!*” (Herder agreed with his contemporaries in forming a very low estimate of Augustine and the doctrine concerning the effects of grace; for further passages comp. his *Dogmatik* p. 230 ss.)

(10) In his essay: *Ueber die Lehre von der Erwählung* (*theologische Zeitschrift*, herausgegeben von Schleiermacher, De Wette, und Lücke, part i. p. 1 ss.) On the other side: *De Wette*, über die Lehre von der Erwählung, etc. (*theologische Zeitschrift* part ii. p. 83 ss.) *Bretschneider* (in der *Oppositionsschrift* von Schröter und Klein, iv. p. 1–83.) *Schleiermacher*, *christliche Glaubenslehre* ii. § 117–120. The milder aspect which he gave to the doctrine in question consists in regarding election not as referring to the lot of man after death, but to the earlier or later

admission to the union with Christ. The literature is given by Bretschneider, Entwurf p. 677 ss.

(11) The views of *Abr. Booth* advanced in his work : the reign of Grace (translated into German by *Krummacher*, Elberf. 1831.) were combated by *J. P. Lange*, Lehre der heiligen Schrift von der freien und allgemeinen Gnade Gottes, *ibid.* 1831.

FOURTH SECTION.

THE CHURCH. THE SACRAMENTS. ESCHATOLOGY.

§ 299.

THE DOCTRINE CONCERNING THE CHURCH.

As the spirit of worldliness gained increasing ground among the professed followers of Christ, it could not be expected that they should have a clear and abiding sense of the existence of the church. The friends of the so-called enlightenment thought that every approach to an independent developement of ecclesiastical life, in opposition to the state, had a hierarchical tendency. After the chancellor *Pfaff*, in Wirtemberg, had defended what is called the system of ecclesiastical collegia, in opposition to the territorial system,⁽¹⁾ the latter was advocated by those who regarded the church as an institution which the state may use for corrective purposes, or, at the utmost, admitted the utility of the ministry of the gospel.⁽²⁾ Considering the general want of ecclesiastical life, it cannot be a matter of surprise that a growing desire after Christian fellowship manifested itself among individuals, which led to the formation of smaller churches within the church universal, such as the Society of the United Brethren.⁽³⁾ Others, *e. g.*, *Swedenborg*, having lost all faith in the present, established the church of the *New Jerusalem*, in the ideal

world in which they lived.⁽⁴⁾ *Kant* alone rose above the narrow-mindedness of the friends of enlightenment, in directing the attention of thinking minds once more to the importance and necessity of a society based upon moral principles, or the establishment of the kingdom of God upon earth.⁽⁵⁾ But he rested satisfied with the merely moral aspect, while the true church can only be founded upon more profound religious principles, which must have their origin in spiritual views of religion in general, and a clearer perception of Christology in particular. On this account modern theologians have endeavoured to discuss the doctrine concerning the church more fully than the reformers.⁽⁶⁾ The developement of the Canon Law, and ecclesiastical government, keeps pace with the developement of the doctrine in question. While, on the one hand, church and state are entirely separated from each other, *e. g.*, in the United States of America,⁽⁷⁾ and, on the other, some modern theologians have sought to bring about a higher union of both *in the state*,⁽⁸⁾ others take an intermediate position, asserting that church and state ought to be separated theoretically, but, practically, must exert a reacting influence upon each other.⁽⁹⁾

(1) *Pfaff*, de Originibus Juris ecclesiastici variaque ejusdem indole, Tüb. 1719. 4. 1720. to which was added a new essay : de successione episcopali. The church is a society, a collegium which has its own laws and privileges. The rights which princes possess in ecclesiastical matters, are conferred upon them by the church. See *Schröckh* vii. p. 547. and *Stahl*, Kirchenrecht p. 37 ss. On the other hand the so-called territorial system first propounded by *Thomasius* (see § 255. note 4.) was more fully developed by *Just Henning Böhmer* (died 1749) and others.

(2) See *Spalding*, von der Natzbarkeit des Predigtamts. He was combated by *Herder*, in the Provinzialblätter.

(3) *Zinzendorf* did not intend to found a sect, but to establish

an ecclesiola in ecclesia; see Spangenberg *Idea fidei fratrum* p. 542: "The united Brethren consider themselves *a small part of the visible church* of our Lord Jesus Christ.....Since they hold the same doctrines as those of the evangelical church (set forth in the *Confessio August.*), they see no reason for separating from it.....Those are right who regard the congregations of the United Brethren as institutions founded by our Lord Jesus Christ in his church, in order to present a barrier to the torrent of corruption now breaking in upon doctrine and life. The opinion of those is well-founded who regard them as a hospital in which our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the sole physician of our souls, has collected many of his destitute and diseased followers to care for them, and that their wants may be supplied by his servants."

(4) *Göttliche Offenbarung* ii. p. 84: "The church is *in man*; the church which is without man, is a church composed of many in whom the church is." The church is everywhere, where the word of God is rightly understood. Swedenborg thinks that the church is everywhere typified in the Old Testament. By the New Jerusalem occurring in the book of Revelation he understands the new church as regards her doctrines. *Göttl. Offenbarung* i. p. 132. The new doctrines which were hitherto concealed, but are now revealed by Swedenborg, constitute the new church, or the church of the New Jerusalem p. 138. 39. and in several other places.

(5) In his *Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*. 3d chapter p. 119 ss. comp. the fourth chapt. concerning "Religion und Pfaffenthum," p. 211 ss.

(6) In common with the Rationalists the adherents of formal Supernaturalism had lost the more profound insight into the nature of the church. Thus *Reinhard* treated of the church in a very external and negative manner, p. 614 ss. Comp. *Röhr*, *Briefe über den Rationalismus* p. 409 ss. (quoted by Hase, *Dogmatik* p. 455.) *Wegscheider*, *Institutiones* § 185 ss. gives better definitions. *Schleiermacher* returned to that view, according to which the church is a living organism (the body of Christ), which he brought into connection with the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, who is the spirit of fellowship; see his *Christliche Glaubenslehre* i. §. 6. p. 35-40. §. 22. p. 125 ss. ii. § 121 ss. § 125. p. 306 ss. Comp. *De Wette*, *Religion und Theologie* p. 167 ss. *Dogmatik* § 94.

Twisten, i. p. 107 ss. *Nitzsch*, p. 306 ss. The adherents of the speculative philosophy regard the church "as God existing in the congregation," or "as the religious aspect of the state." But it is not probable that the distinction which they make between those who believe and those who know, will lead them to form a just idea of the church. See *Hegel*, *Philosophie der Religion* ii. p. 257 ss. *Marheinecke*, *Dogmatik* p. 320 ss. *Strauss*, (*Dogmatik* ii. p. 616.) asserts that philosophers should not be compelled to belong to any particular church, but thinks it very strange, that separation from church-fellowship should be the result of a philosophical examination.

(7) This independence of the church in relation to the state is connected with the independence of the citizens in relation to the church, and to ecclesiastical institutions, and with the liberty of worship. Comp. *Vinet*, *Mémoire en faveur de la liberté des cultes*, Paris 1826. comp. *Hagenbach*, in the *Studien und Kritiken* 1829. 2d part p. 418.

(8) *Rothe, R.*, *die Anfänge der Christlichen Kirche und ihrer Verfassung*. 2 voll. Wittenb. 1837-45.

(9) *Stahl, F. J.*, *die Kirchenverfassung nach Lehre und Recht der Protestanten*, Erl. 1840.

Several questions of a more practical nature, *e. g.* those concerning the rights of princes in matters of worship, the constitution of synods, the presbyterian form of church government, the obligation of ministers to sign the symbolical books of the church to which they belong, the relation of the various denominations to each other, etc. have frequently been discussed in modern times.

In the *Roman Catholic* church a controversy was carried on between the Curialists and Episcopalians. Jansenism made its appearance in Germany as Febronianism (see *Klee*, *Dogmengeschichte* i. p. 99.) The French Revolution seemed to have annihilated the existence of the church; but it rose again with new vigour. Concerning its further developement and the various politico-ecclesiastical systems, see the works on ecclesiastical history and the Canon Laws. Respecting the conflicts to which the subject of mixed marriages, etc. gave rise, see *ibid.*

§ 300.

THE MEANS OF GRACE. THE SACRAMENTS.

Protestants continued to hold the doctrine of two sacraments,⁽¹⁾ viz., *Baptism* and *the Lord's Supper*. The

denominational differences between the Lutherans and the Calvinists, to which the doctrine of the Lord's Supper had given rise, were still in existence at the commencement of the present period.⁽²⁾ But the assertion of the Socinians, that the sacraments are mere ceremonies, being in more perfect accordance with the tendency of the friends of enlightenment,⁽³⁾ the Lutheran theologians gradually abandoned their former rigid views,⁽⁴⁾ so that, at last, the denominational differences were lost sight of, in consequence of the wider spread of indifferentism. Those only who had retained the doctrine concerning grace, continued to attach importance to the *means of grace*.⁽⁵⁾ The Rationalists adopted, for the most part, the theory of Zuinglius.⁽⁶⁾ The scheme of Calvin was more fully developed by the adherents of modern theology in particular, and served as the basis of the ecclesiastical union.⁽⁷⁾ The old Lutheran view, however, was also revived in its most rigid form, and adopted by many;⁽⁸⁾ this was still more the case as modern philosophers interpreted it speculatively.⁽⁹⁾ The views of the Anabaptists concerning baptism have given rise to controversies in our own day.⁽¹⁰⁾ Inasmuch as the more unprejudiced of the Protestant theologians gradually admitted that infant-baptism was not expressly commanded in Scripture, *Schleiermacher* and his followers endeavoured to defend the ecclesiastical usage, by regarding the *act of confirmation* as a complement of that of baptism.⁽¹¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ *Augusti* gave the preference to the threefold division into baptism, the Lord's Supper, and absolution, which he compared to the Trinity (viz., baptism is the sacrament of the Holy Spirit, the Lord's Supper is that of the Son, and absolution is that of the Father as the supreme judge.) See his *System der christlichen Dogmatik*, 2d edit. p. 278-81. pref. p. vi. *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* p. 382. *Karr* agrees with him (*Bertholdts*

Kritisches Journal xii.) *Ammon* (Summa doctrinæ edit. iii. p. 251.) would number the *redditio animæ in manus Domini* among the sacraments, and *Kaiser* (Monogrammata p. 224.) thinks that confirmation and the laying on of hands are sacraments (see *Augusti Dogmengeschichte* l. c.) It is well known that *Göthe*, from the æsthetic point of view, defended the Roman Catholic doctrine of seven sacraments (in his *Aus meinem Leben*, ii. p. 117 ss. Stuttg. 1829.) The Moravian brethren have introduced among themselves the ecclesiastical usages of the washing of feet, the kiss of charity, and the casting of lots, without regarding them as sacraments; they attach, however, great importance to the first of these, see *Idea fidei fratrum* p. 548 ss. In addition to the Lord's Supper, they also celebrate the love-feasts. As regards the idea of sacrament, several theologians showed that the term "sacrament" is not very judiciously chosen. See *Storr*, *doctrina christiana* § 108 ss. *Reinhard*, p. 556: "It would have been better, either not to introduce into systematic theology the term sacrament, which is used in so many meanings, and does not once occur in Holy Writ, or to use it in the independent and indefinite manner in which the earlier church did." Comp. *Schleiermacher*, *christliche Glaubenslehre* vol. ii. p. 415 ss. p. 416: "The common mode of commencing with this so-called general idea, and explaining it, serves to confirm the erroneous opinion, that it is a truly doctrinal idea, which involves something essential to Christianity, and that baptism and the Lord's Supper are of so much importance principally because this idea is therein realized." The *Idea fidei fratrum* treats only of baptism and the Lord's Supper, without discussing the idea of sacrament p. 275 ss. See on the other side *Hase*, *Dogmatik* p. 529.

(2) In the year 1714, *L. Ch. Sturm*, late professor of mathematics in the university of Frankfort, who had seceded from the Lutheran to the Reformed Church, published his *Mathematischen Beweis vom Abendmahl*, in which he (like *Schwenkfeld* see § 258. note 6.) confounded the subject and the predicate of the words used by our Lord, by explaining *τοῦτο* as equivalent to *τοιούτο*. He was opposed by *J. A. Fabricius*, *J. G. Reinbeck*, *F. Buddeus*, and others. About the middle of the eighteenth century, *Ch. August Heumanns*, himself a Lutheran, endeavoured to prove,

“ that the doctrine of the Reformed Church concerning the Lord’s Supper is correct and true.” His work did not lead Calvinists to engage in a controversy, but gave rise to dissensions among the Lutheran theologians themselves. See Schlegel, *Kirchengeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts.* ii. p. 307 ss. Von Einem p. 325 ss.

(³) The writings of the Rationalists abounded in trivial expressions. Thus, *C. R. Lange* proposed (in *Hufnagel’s liturgische Blättern*, vol. i.) the following formula for use at the administration of the Lord’s Supper: “ Partake of this bread ! may the spirit of devotion bestow all his blessings upon you. Partake of a little wine ! Virtuous power is not in this wine, it is in you, in the divine doctrine, and in God.” See *Kapp*, *liturgische Grundsätze*, Erl. 1831. p. 349.

(⁴) *Ernesti* defended the Lutheran interpretation of the words used by our Lord on exegetical grounds, *Opuscula theologica*, p. 135 ss., but expressed his sorrow that many were more inclined to adopt that view quod rationi humanæ expeditius est et mollius. The Supranaturalists, *Storr* and *Reinhard*, rested satisfied with a more indefinite statement of the Lutheran doctrine (*Storr*, *doctrina christiana* § 114. *Reinhard* p. 598.) *Knapp* went so far as to say (vol. ii. p. 482.), “ The doctrine of Christ’s presence in the Lord’s Supper should never have been made an article of faith, but have been confined to scientific theology.” Others, *e. g.*, *Hahn*, *Lindner*, and *Schwarz*, endeavoured to defend the Lutheran doctrine, by introducing into it their own explanations. See *Hase*, *Dogmatik* p. 583.

(⁵) The Pietists and Moravian Brethren, in particular, retained the idea of *means of grace*.

(⁶) The Rationalists differed among themselves. The strict Lutheran doctrine was, of course, excluded. Most of them adopted the view of *Zuinglius*; some going farther, adhered to the Socinian theory, while others manifested a stronger leaning towards the Calvinistic scheme. *Benjamin Hoadley*, an Episcopalian, and friend of *Samuel Clarke*, defended the Socinian theory in his treatise: *Of the nature and end of the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper.* Lond. 1735. He was combated by *Whiston*, *Waterland*, and *Mill*. See Schlegel l. c. Von Einem ii. p. 536. ii. 2. p. 751. *Henke* followed the example of *Schwenkfeld*

in the interpretation of the words used by our Lord, *Lineamenta* cxxxvii. p. 250. *Tieftrunk* adopted the view of Kant, that the design of the Lord's Supper is to awaken and to develop a spirit of cosmopolitan brotherhood; see his *Censur* p. 296 ss. (comp. Kant, *Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft* p. 282.) The better class of Rationalists understood the symbolical significance of this ordinance in a becoming and spiritual manner, without losing sight of its moral aspect, and in accordance with the spirit of Zuinglius. See especially *Schulz*, *die Lehre vom Abendmahl*, and compare *Wegscheider*, § 180. He regards the elements used in the Lord's Supper not merely as *signa significantia*, but as *signa ex exhibitiva*.

(7) *Schleiermacher*, *christliche Glaubenslehre* ii. p. 139 ss. p. 388 ss. *De Wette*, *Dogmatik* p. 93. *Nitzsch*, *System der christlichen Lehre* p. 317.

(8) *Scheibel*, *das Abendmahl des Herrn*, Breslau 1823. *Sartorius*, *Vertheidigung der lutherischen Abendmahlslehre*, in the *Dorpater Beiträge* 1832, vol. i. p. 305 ss.

(9) *Hegel*, *Philosophie der Religion*, vol. ii. p. 274. : "The idea involved in the *Lutheran* doctrine is this, that the motion begins with the external (element), which is a plain and common thing, but that the participation, the consciousness of the presence of God, is brought about by the *consumption* of the external element. This consumption is not only corporeal, but takes place in spirit and in faith.....There is no transubstantiation in the common sense of the word, but a transubstantiation by which the external loses its nature, and the presence of God is purely spiritual, so that the faith of the person who partakes of the elements is essential to it." (The last idea is not in accordance with the *Lutheran* view; comp. § 258. note 9.)

(10) The Anabaptists in Switzerland.—Oncken in *Hamburgh* (from the year 1834.)—The Anabaptists in *Wirtemberg* (from the year 1787) see *Grüneisen*, *Abriss einer Geschichte der religiösen Gemeinschaften in Würtemberg*, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die neuen Taufgesinnten, in *Illgens Zeitschrift für historische Theologie* 1841, part i. p. 64 ss.

(11) *Schleiermacher*, *christliche Glaubenslehre* ii. § 138. p. 382 ss.

§ 301.

ESCHATOLOGY.

Flügge, Geschichte des Glaubens an Unsterblichkeit, Auferstehung, Gericht und Vergeltung Leipz. 1794-1800.

The more the pious were accustomed to regard the decay of ecclesiastical life during the period of enlightenment as a defection from pure Christianity, the higher were their expectations as to the near approach of the end of all things. *Bengel*,⁽¹⁾ and *Jung Stilling*,⁽²⁾ endeavoured to ascertain the moment when this event would take place. The former fixed upon the year 1836. In opposition to these positive expectations, the Rationalists sought to explain away the Scriptural doctrine of the second advent of Christ,⁽³⁾ and to shorten the duration of the punishments of hell.⁽⁴⁾ Some earlier hypotheses, *e. g.* those concerning the sleep of the soul, the migration of souls, Hades, etc. were also revived, and their number increased by new ones.⁽⁵⁾ Nevertheless both Rationalists and Supranaturalists retained the doctrine of man's personal existence after death; not only those who believed in a revelation, such as *Lavater*, but also the principal friends of enlightenment declared their faith in the world to come.⁽⁶⁾ *Kant* examined the arguments commonly advanced in support of the doctrine of immortality (as he had done in reference to the existence of God), and approved only of the *moral* argument for practical reason.⁽⁷⁾ In opposition to that form of belief in immortality which had lost its connection with Christianity, and had its real

origin in selfish motives, the adherents of modern philosophy and theology maintained that *eternal life*, according to Christ's own teaching, ought to begin upon earth,⁽⁸⁾ and that it was impossible to form an adequate idea of the world to come.⁽⁹⁾ Proceeding upon these principles, one party of modern speculative philosophers went so far as to deny the existence of the world to come altogether, and to deify the present,⁽¹⁰⁾ while the other endeavoured more fully to prove the ecclesiastical doctrine of the last things by means of that same philosophy.⁽¹¹⁾ That the kingdom of God which had its commencement and completion in Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, is ever approaching; that the idea of a glorified union of the human nature with the Divine, by means of a living faith in Christ, in reference to the totality as well as to individuals, will be more and more realized in the fulness of time; and that notwithstanding the manifold change of forms, the spirit of Christianity will always be the *incorruptible inheritance* of humanity—these are hopes reaching far beyond the sensuous Millenarianism, and which we are justified to cherish by the consideration of the course which, amidst numerous conflicts and errors, the developement of Christian theology has taken to the present hour.

⁽¹⁾ In his : Erklärte Offenb. Joh. oder vielmehr Jesu Christi, aus dem Grundtext übersetzt, durch die prophetischen Zahlen aufgeschlossen, und Allen, die auf das Werk und Wort des Herrn achten, und dem, was vor der Thüre ist, würdiglich entgegen zu kommen begehren, vor Augen gelegt durch Joh. Albr. Bengel, Stuttg. 1740.—Sechzig erbauliche Reden über die Offenb. Joh., sammt einer Nachlese gleichen Inhalts, etc. 1747.—Cyclus, sive de anno magno solis, lunæ, stellarum consideratio ad incrementum doctrinæ prophetiæ atque astronomiæ accomodata, Ulm. 1745. For the controversial writings to which his works gave rise, see Burke p. 260, and the chronological table p. 273. Comp.

Lücke, Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis p. 548 ss. (*Stuart*, commentary on the Apocalypse i. p. 469.

(²) In his : Siegsgeschichte der christlichen Kirche oder, gemeinnützige Erklärung der Offenbarung Johannis, Nürnberg. 1779. Appendix 1805, 1822.

(³) *Henke*, Lineamenta, cxiv. : Atqui his in oraculis (Scripturæ S.) non, omnia, ut sonant, verba capienda, multa ad similitudinem formæ judiciorum humanorum et pompæ regiæ expressa esse, illi etiam fatentur, qui ad spectabile aliquod judicium, a Christo ipso per sensilem speciem præsentem in his terris agendum, præfiguratum esse atque præstituto tempore vere actum iri defendunt. Interim vel sic, destrictis, quasi exuviis orationis, remanent multa, quæ non modo obscuritatis, sed etiam offensionis plurimum habent, etc.....Insunt vero istis rerum, quas futuras esse prædixerunt, imaginibus hæ simul graves et piæ sententiæ : 1. vitam hominibus post fata instauratum iri, eosque etsi eosdem, non tamen eodem modo victuros esse ; 2. sortem cujusque in hac vita continuata talem futuram, qualem e sententia Christi, h. e. ad veritatis et justitiæ amissim, promeruerit ; 3. plane novam fore rerum faciem in isthac altera vita, et longe alias novæ civitatis sedes ; 4. animo semper bene composito et pervigilanti, magnam illam rerum nostrarum conversionem, ne inopinatos oprimat, expectandam esse. Comp. *Wegscheider*, Institut. § 199. 200. *Herder*, (von der Auferstehung), and *De Wette* (Religion und Theologie p. 259 ss.) endeavoured to make a distinction between the symbols and that which is signified by them.

(⁴) Some Supranaturalists also propounded milder views. On the contrary, others defended the eternity of punishments. *Kant* numbered such queries among those *childish questions* from which the inquirer would learn nothing, even were they answered (Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft, p. 83, note.) The literature is given by *Bretschneider*, Entwurf comp. p. 886 ss.

(⁵) The Psychopannychy was advanced by *John Heyn* in a letter addressed to Baumgarten ; see his theologische Streitigkeiten iii. p. 454, and probably also by *J. J. Wettstein* (see Hagenbach in Illgens Zeitschrift für historische Theologie 1839. i. p. 118. 119.), by *J. G. Sulzer* (vermischte Schriften, 1781 ii.), and to some extent by *Reinhard*, Dogmatik p. 656 ss.) He rejects indeed the true doctrine of a sleep of the soul, but admits that the soul im-

mediately after its separation from the body falls into an unconscious state, because the change antecedent to death is in his opinion so powerful, that the activity of the soul might for a time be interrupted by it. Comp. also *Simonetti*, Gedanken über die Lehre von der Unsterblichkeit und dem Schlaf der Seelen, Berl. 1747.—Concerning the *migration of souls* (*μετεμψύχωσις*) in an ascending order, see *Schlosser*, zwei Gespräche, Basel 1781. *Herder*, zerstreute Blätter, vol. i. p. 215. *Ehrenberg*, F. Wahrheit und Dichtung über unsere Fortdauer, Leip. 1803. *Conz*, Schicksale der Seelenwanderungshypothese, Königsb. 1791. *Bretschneider*, Entwurf p. 846 ss. The doctrine of an *intermediate state* (Hades) was especially advocated by *Jung Stilling*, Geisterkunde §. 211, 212: “If the departed spirit who has left this world in a state of imperfect holiness, carries with him some elements which he is not permitted to introduce into the heavenly regions, he must remain in Hades until he has put away all that is impure; but he does not suffer pain, excepting that of which he himself is the cause. The true sufferings in Hades are the desire still adhering to the soul for the pleasures of this world.” Comp. his Apologie der Geisterkunde p. 42, 45. Among modern theologians *Hahn* has adopted these views (christliche Glaubenslehre § 142. *Bretschneider* Entwurf p. 886.) Apart from the theory of the intermediate state, *Priestley* endeavoured to reconcile the Scriptural doctrine of resurrection with the philosophical idea of immortality by supposing that there is a particular organ of the soul which develops itself in the hour of death; see *brittisches Magazin*, 1773. vol. iv. part 2. *Bretschneider*, Entwurf p. 861. *Swedenborg* has established a complete system of eschatology, *Göttliche Offenbarung* vol. ii. p. 284. He rejected the ecclesiastical doctrine of resurrection which is founded upon a too literal interpretation of Scripture. Resurrection and general judgment have already taken place. Men continue to live as men (the righteous as angels) after their departure from this world, and are greatly surprised to find themselves in such a state. Immediately after death they again possess a body, clothes, houses, etc. and are ashamed to have formed such erroneous opinions concerning the future life (comp. § 294.) Those who have manifested a tendency towards the good and true, dwell in magnificent palaces which are surrounded by gardens filled with trees.....

The opposite takes place in the case of those who have indulged in sin. They are either in hell shut up in prisons without windows, in which there is light coming as it were, from an ignis fatuus, or they live in deserts, and reside in huts which are surrounded by sterile wastes, and haunted by serpents, dragons, owls, and other such objects corresponding to their evil inclinations. Between heaven and hell there is an *intermediate place* called the world of spirits. Every man goes thither immediately after death; the intercourse which there takes place between the departed spirits is similar to that which men carry on upon earth, etc. Göttl. Offenbarung p. 250–51. By the new heaven and the new earth Swedenborg understood the new church. Comp. Vom jüngsten Gericht, Göttl. Offenbarung p. 263 ss.

(⁶) *Lavater, J. C.*, Aussichten in die Ewigkeit, in Briefen an Zimmerman, Zürich, 1768 ss.—*Sintenis, Ch. F.*, Elpizon, oder über meine Fortdauer im Tode, Danz. 1795 ss.—By the same: Oswald, der Greis; mein letzter Glaube, Leipz. 1813.—*Engel*, wir werden uns wiedersehn, Gött. 1787. 88. The literature is more fully given by Bretschneider, Entwurf p. 827, 879 ss.

(⁷) The arguments commonly advanced, especially in modern times, are the following: 1. The *metaphysical, i. e.* that which is derived from the nature of the soul; 2. The *teleological, i. e.* that which is derived from the intellectual faculties of man which are not fully developed upon earth; 3. The *analogical, i. e.* that which is derived from nature—spring, the caterpillar, etc.; 4. The *cosmical, i. e.* the argument derived from the stars; 5. The *theological, i. e.* the argument founded on the various attributes of God.; 6. The *moral (practical) i. e.* the argument derived from the disagreement between the desire for happiness and that for moral perfection. See *Kant*, Kritik der praktischen Vernunft, p. 219 ss. For the literature see Bretschneider l. c. and Hase, Dogmatik p. 111, 112. Strauss Dogmatik ii. p. 697 ss.

(⁸) *Fichte*, Anweisung zum seligen Leben p. 17: “*Most certainly* there is a perfect happiness *also beyond* the grave for those who have in this world begun to enjoy it, which is by no means different from that which we may here at any time possess. We do not enter into this state of happiness merely by being buried. Many will seek happiness in the future life and in the infinite series of future worlds as much in vain, as in the

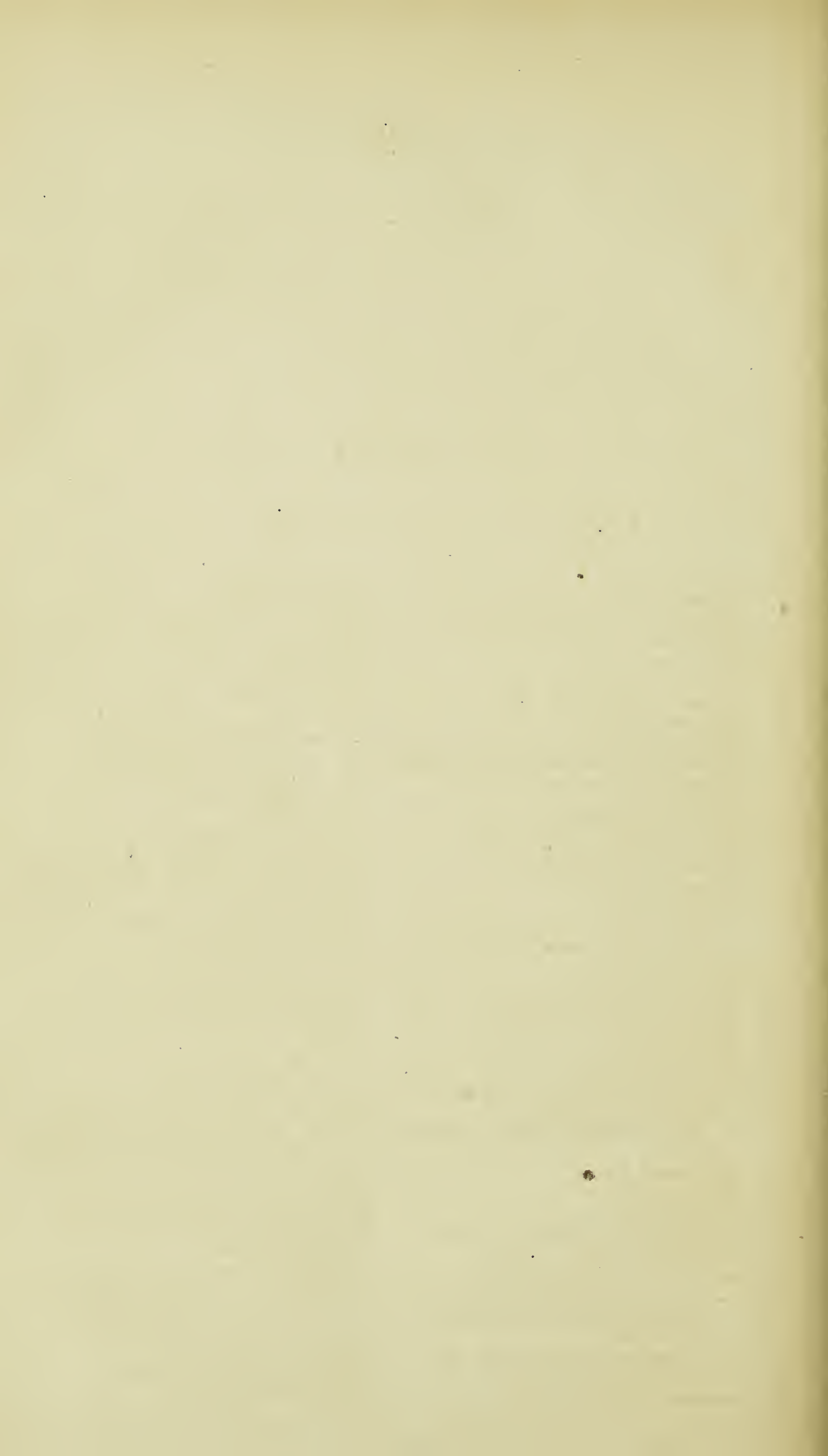
present life, if they meant to find it in anything but that which is now so near to them that it can never be brought nearer, viz. the eternal." Concerning the resurrection of the dead, comp. *ibid* p. 178. See also *Schleiermacher*, Reden über die Religion, p. 172. (3d edit.) In his opinion most men form their idea of immortality from impure motives, inasmuch as their wish to be immortal has its origin in their aversion to that which is the design of religion.

⁽⁹⁾ *Schleiermacher*, christliche Glaubenslehre ii. § 157 ss. *De Wette*, Dogmatik § 107. 108.

⁽¹⁰⁾ *Richter*, F., die Lehre von der letzten Dingen, Bresl. 1833. By the same : die Geheimlehren der neuern Philosophie, nebst Erklärung an Herrn Prof. Weisse in Leipzig. *Ibid* 1833.—By the same : die neue Unsterblichkeitslehre, *ibid*. 1833. *Strauss*, Glaubenslehre ii. p. 739 : " *The idea of a future world.....is the last enemy whom speculative criticism has to oppose, and, if possible, to overcome! !*"

⁽¹¹⁾ *Weisse*, Ch., die philosophische Geheimlehre von der Unsterblichkeit des menschlichen Individuums, Dresd. 1834. Ueber die philosophische Bedeutung der Lehre von den letzten Dingen ; in the Theologische Studien und Kritiken 1836, p. 271 ss. *Fichte*, J. H., die Idee der Persönlichkeit und der individuellen Fortdauer, Elberf. 1834. *Göschel*, C. F., von den Beweisen für die Unsterblichkeit der menschlichen Seele, im Lichte der spec. Philosophie ; eine Ostergabe, Berlin, 1835. Comp. Bretschneider, p. 831.

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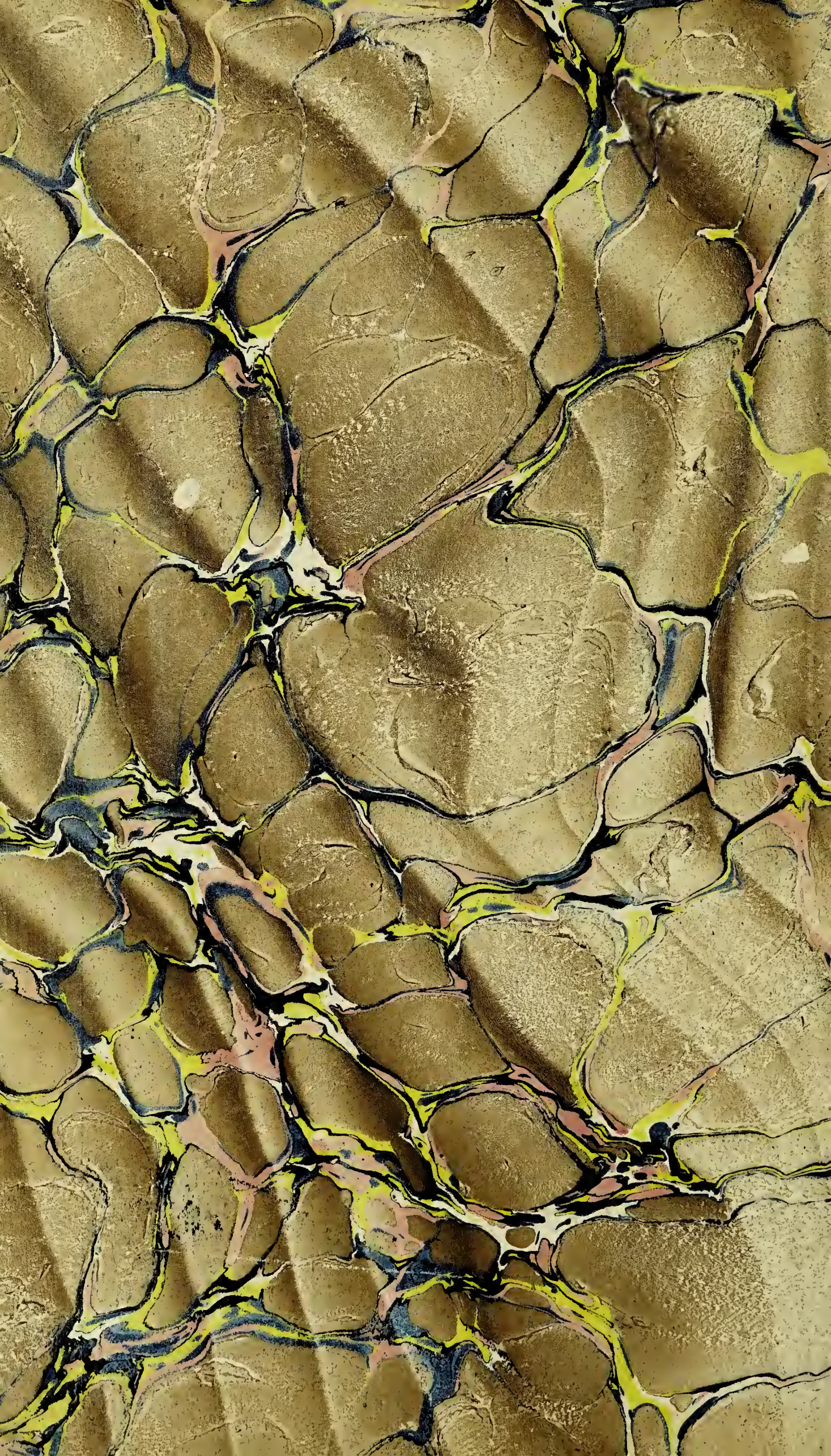
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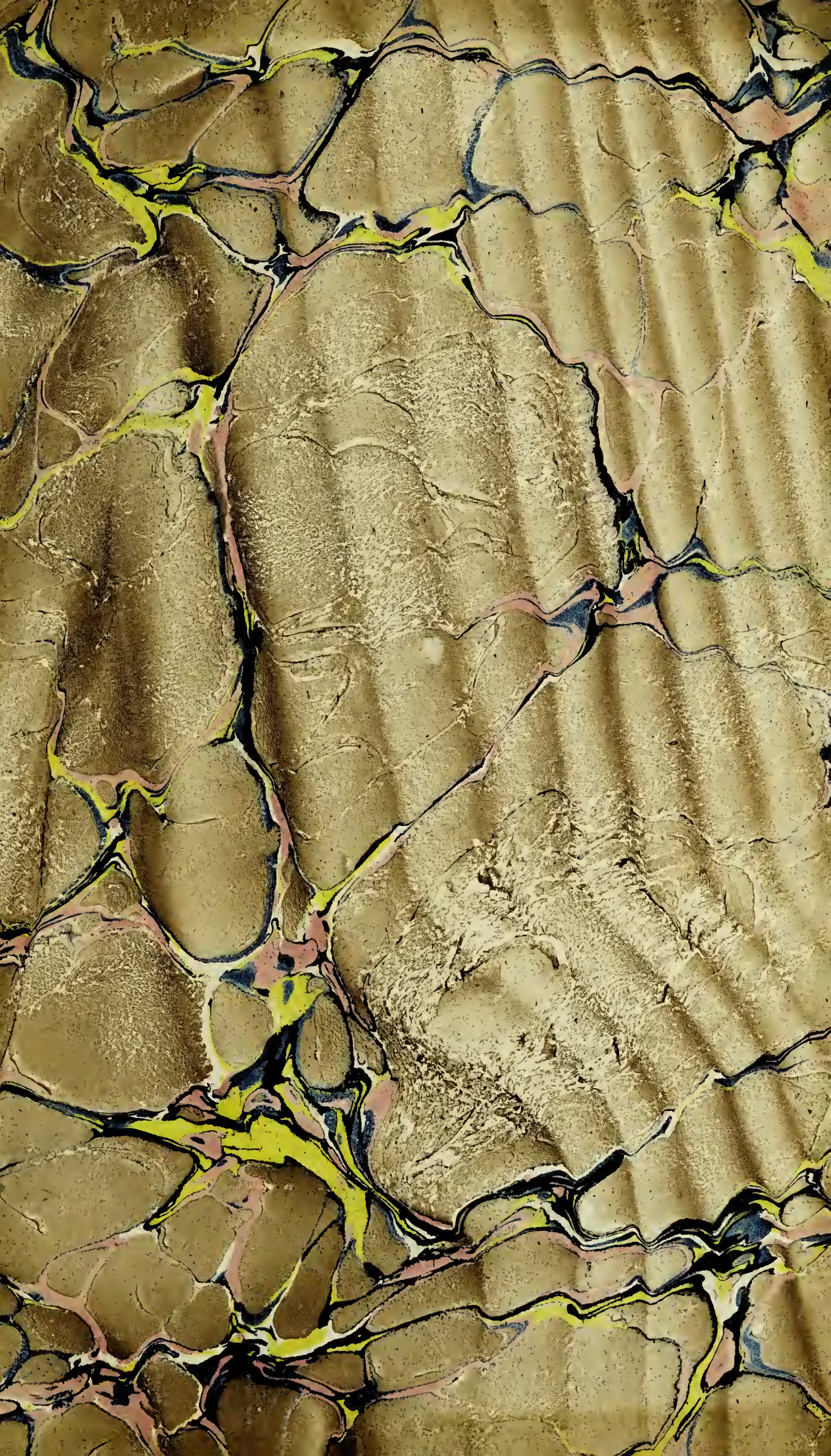
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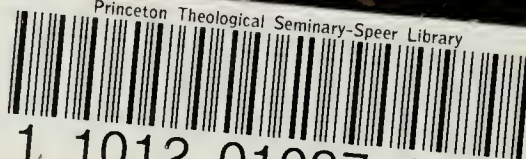
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